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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—THE SECT OF "THE ASSASSINS."

THE state of society in Arabia, previous to the time of Muhammad, was very similar to that which exists in Afghanistan at the present day. There was no Arab nation, but a vast number of tribes, some stationary, some nomadic, scattered over the peninsula, engaged in endless feuds among themselves. The names of certain kingdoms—Hira, Yemen, Ghassan—figure in the ante-Islamic period; but a close examination of them shows that they were little more than names given to an agglomeration of tribes, the relations of which changed and shifted like the sands of their own deserts when the wind passes over them. The fervent convictions and profound political ability of the Prophet, imposed upon these restless atoms the uniting influence of a common faith and a common allegiance. But the period of one man's life was too brief to allow the precepts of Islam to take firm root in the mind of the Arab, or to secure permanently the submission of his changeful and impetuous nature. The Arab, we learn from Mr. Gifford Palgrave, is a believing creature rather than a religious one. He has a profound sense of the Possibilities which may lie hidden in the depths of the infinite Unknown. He gives an easy credence to any message which purports to come from the invisible world. Hence there was to him nothing especially surprising or incredible in the Prophet's claim to a divine mission. But the very facility with which he acceded to this claim, rendered him, of necessity, equally accessible to like demands from other quarters. Three other Prophets, each with a following of his own, were in the field ere yet Muhammad had departed this life; and his death was the signal for a general dissolution of the tribes that his personal influence alone had hitherto held together. The schism penetrated even to Medina—the very spot where he breathed his last. The citizens of Medina, as those who had first

of all recognised the God-given authority of the Prophet, who had granted him an asylum when forced to fly from the persecution and idolatry of Mecca, asserted their exclusive right to elect a successor on his death. At the same time they expressed their willingness to concede the same privilege to the men of Mecca if they pleased. "Let each of the two great cities of Islam," they said, "have its own spiritual leader." It is needless to say that, had this suggestion been adopted, the banners of Islam would never have penetrated beyond the limits of the Hejaz. Mecca and Medina would have preyed upon each other, to the ultimate extinction of the new faith altogether. But the danger was warded off. Three Caliphs were successively acknowledged by the whole world of Islam. The rival Prophets fell before the fierce valour of Kaled. The recollections of domestic feuds were quenched for a time in the bright hopes of plundering a world. A united Arabia—if not a united Islam—poured across the northern sandy waste to the conquest of Syria and Palestine. A few sieges, a few fierce battles, and these rich provinces were torn away for ever from the dominions of the Byzantine Emperor. The ancient Sassanian dynasty was crushed on the field of Kadesia, and Persia added to the dominions of the Caliph. In less than three years the Arabs were masters of Egypt. But the Arab impulse to divide, to split up into a number of fragments, was only held for a while in subjection by the stronger desire for women and for plunder. The moment the tide of conquest was stayed it reasserted itself with all its pristine vigour; but with this difference. Had the Arab confederacy dissolved at the time of the Prophet's death, the recollection too of Islam would speedily have been effaced by the attractions of the old religions. But the new faith had now been tried in a furnace seven times heated, and proved to be a weapon of surpassing temper and sharpness. It had not only shown itself stronger than every indigenous system of belief, but even after the death of its promulgator, it had gone forth north, south, east, and west, and every foe the Arab encountered, had gone down before the battle cry of "God and His Prophet." This was just the demonstration calculated to convince the conscience of a people who confessed no arbitration but that of force—whose God was an irresistible force, simply issuing decrees to men. Hence the Arabs, as a people, never afterwards let go their hold on the fundamental tenet of Islam. Amid all their religious wars, there is never any question to substitute some other confession for that of the one God which they had received from the Prophet. It is the true faith—the real veritable Islam—implied in that confession which each party desires to establish, cost what it may. Not that the same unques-

tioning belief existed in the minds of all without exception. We shall see that it was quite the contrary in the course of the present paper; but even the few who had parted from all beliefs, felt that they could only attain the co-operation of the many by simulating a faith which they had ceased to feel.

It was not until the third Caliph Othman had been murdered, that the followers of the Prophet paused in their course of conquest to turn their swords against each other. Othman was succeeded by Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and known as the "ever victorious lion of God." This was the beginning of troubles. Ali was accused of having instigated the murder of his predecessor. Othman's bloody shirt was conveyed to Syria, and displayed in the principal mosque of Damascus to incite the Syrian army to revenge his death. "Fifty thousand men," said the messenger who communicated these tidings to Ali at Medina, "are assembled about the robes of Othman, whose cheeks and beards have never been dry from tears, and whose eyes have never ceased from weeping blood since the hour of that prince's atrocious murder. They have drawn their swords with a solemn pledge never to return them to the scabbard, nor cease from mourning, until they have extirpated all concerned in that detested transaction. This sentiment they have left as a solemn bequest to their descendants; and the earliest principle that mothers instil into the minds of their infant offspring is, to revenge the blood of Othman to the last extremity." Simultaneously with this movement in Syria, Telha and Zobeir—two of the most renowned warriors among the Arabs—and Ayesha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, repaired to Bussora, and raised the standard of rebellion against the authority of Ali. But Ali, though deficient in political ability, and wanting apparently in the tact requisite to conciliate rival and turbulent factions, was an unrivalled soldier on the field of battle. He placed himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and advanced in the direction of Bussora. In the terrible "Battle of the Camel" seventeen thousand Arabs are said to have fallen; Telha and Zobeir were both killed, and Ayesha became a prisoner in the power of Ali. He treated her with the utmost forbearance and courtesy and caused her to be escorted to Mecca. This signal victory made Ali the undisputed sovereign of Irak, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Khorassan. But the Syrian army remained implacable. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, acknowledged Moawiah, the son of Abou Sofian, in the presence of the whole army, as the lawful Caliph and Prince of the Moslemin. Ali attacked the Syrian host on the plain of Saffein. Victorious again and again in the battle field, he allowed himself to be outwitted in diplomacy. In the month Ramadan, A.H. 40,

the career of Ali was brought to a close by the dagger of an assassin, and Moawiah became the undisputed Caliph. Forthwith, in all the mosques throughout the regions of Islam, the names of Ali and of all his family were regularly cursed upon all occasions of public worship. His death was followed, nine years after, by that of his eldest son, Hasan, poisoned by his own wife, at the instigation, it is said, of Moawiah; and after a lapse of two years, his second son, Hoosein, crowned the misfortunes of his family by his bloody death on the plain of Kerbelah, on the tenth day of the month Mohurrum, A.H. 61.

The great schism was now complete. The blood of the martyrs, as it always must, had become the seed of a new Church. "The murdered Hoosein" became thenceforth a watchword of vengeance which again and again deluged with blood the empire of the Caliphs, and ultimately brought it to ruin. Yezid, the son of Moawiah, was the reigning Caliph at the time of the murder. That event was the signal for rebellious outbreaks in all parts of his dominions. The people of Medina were the first to revolt. Gathering together in the mosque round about the pulpit, one of them said,—"I lay aside Yezid, as I lay aside this turban," throwing, with these words, his turban upon the ground. Another said,—"I put away Yezid as I put away this shoe." And so on, until the whole floor was covered with cloaks, turbans, and shoes. The Caliph's lieutenant was driven out of the city, with the whole family of Ommeyah with their relations and dependants. Mecca followed the example and declared Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, the true Caliph; he for his part affirmed his readiness to revenge the blood of the martyr Hoosein. Yezid, however, lost no time in marching a force across the desert to Medina. The place was carried by storm, and given up to plunder for the space of three days. Those that had escaped the sword were compelled to swear themselves the slaves and vassals of Yezid. The orthodox army then marched to Mecca, but before the town surrendered, the Caliph died. The Muhammadan divines declared that God had cut him off in the flower of his age for the abominable outrages committed in the burying place of the Prophet. They quoted a saying of Muhammad: "Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away even as salt melteth in the water."

But the death of Yezid came too late to avail anything in mitigating the bitter hatred which divided the followers of Ali from the rest of Islam. A difference—merely political in its origin—suffering and persecution speedily converted into a tenet of faith, dearer than life. Two Caliphs—Merwan and Abdal Malek—reigned in Damascus, in succession to Yezid; and still Cufah and Bussora, Mecca and Medina, remained the theatre

of bloody battles and bloodier reprisals. Cufah was the centre of this fanatical fury. It was in obedience to an invitation from this city that the martyr Hoosein had left his asylum at Mecca, and started on that journey which terminated on the blood-stained plain of Kerbelah. The inhabitants had remained passive, while that tragedy was being enacted; and the memory of their culpable inaction preyed upon their souls like the worm that dieth not. Three years after his death (A.H. 64., A.D. 683) they came to the resolution that there was no way in which to atone for their crime but by avenging his death. Solyman, the son of Sorad—a leading follower of Ali—was placed at the head of the movement. The "penitents," as they termed themselves, appointed a place of assembly close to the city. Thence they despatched two horsemen to ride through the streets of Cufah and around the principal mosque, shouting, "Vengeance for Hoosein!" The inflammable people eagerly responded, and six thousand devoted men were soon collected, sworn to conquer or die in the cause. Their first step was to march to the plain of Kerbelah. There they spent a day and night around the Martyr's tomb, bewailing their sins, and praying for forgiveness. One who was present swore that he never saw such crowding and pressing even round the black stone of the Kaaba. When at length Solyman gave the order to march, not a man would move till he had first stood over Hoosein's tomb and asked for pardon. They plunged boldly into the vast waste, scored by deep ravines, and traversed by fierce hurricanes of wind, which stretches right up to the gardens of Damascus. But fatigue, hunger, and thirst are more potent enemies than a naked sword. Solyman soon found his men falling away from him. The army of Merwan, twenty thousand strong, barred his onward passage. The "penitents" were given the alternative to yield or die. They chose the latter, declaring that they should never again be so fit to leave the world as at this moment. The struggle was long and obstinate; but the might of numbers prevailed and the avengers of Hoosein perished to a man.

Another champion was not wanting. Al Moktar seized the banner which had fallen from the grasp of Solyman. He was a man of consummate daring and ability, and absolutely pitiless. He defeated army after army that was sent against him, and the Oriental historians, with Oriental exaggeration let us hope, assert that, exclusive of those slain in battle, fifty thousand of the enemies of Ali were the victims of his savage and unremitting zeal. In this bloody strife quarter was neither asked nor given. Yezid, a general of Al Moktar, had defeated an army of the Caliph. Three hundred prisoners were brought before him. He

was chained to his litter by a violent and fatal disorder. Speechless and in the agonies of death, he had just strength sufficient to signify the order for death, by drawing his hand across his throat. Vengeance at last overtook Moktar in A.H. 67. His troops were defeated in a pitched battle in front of Cufah. With six thousand men he escaped into his palace within the city. The palace was surrounded, and his followers destitute of food. Al Moktar proposed that they should sally forth, and either cut their way through the enemy or perish with their swords in their hands. But his disheartened soldiers shrank from this desperate alternative. Only nineteen of his most attached friends declared their readiness to follow him. Al Moktar took leave of his army with the assurance that, after his death, they need not hope for mercy; then he and his companions wrapping themselves in their winding sheets rushed forth on the beleaguering army, and fell fighting to the last. The rest of his followers at once surrendered. They were paraded handcuffed in the market place of Cufah, and there slaughtered to a man. Thus, year after year in the vast expanse of country which lies between Damascus, Medina, Mecca, Cufah, and Bussorah a religious war raged unceasingly, with ever increasing ferocity, and apparently without any prospect of termination. At last a man appeared upon the scene, whose cruelty struck terror and astonishment in the hearts of even that cruel age. This was the infamous Hijjaj. The wild legend regarding his infancy tells more than any words we could use of the character he left behind him. "The child," Ibn Khallikan informs us, "refused the breast of his mother and every other person, so that they were at a loss what to do, till, as it is said, Satan appeared to them in the form of Al Harith Ibn Kalda, and asked them what was the matter; they told him the circumstance, and he said, "Kill a black kid and give its blood to the child to drink; the next day do the same thing; the third day slay a black he-goat and give the blood to be drunk by the child, then kill a snake and make the child swallow the blood, and daub his face with some of it; if you do this, the child will take the breast on the fourth day." They followed these directions, and the effect of this first nourishment was such that he could not refrain from shedding blood. He even said of himself that his greatest enjoyment was to shed blood and commit actions which no other could." This was the fitting instrument selected by the Caliph Abdal Malek to stamp out sedition in his dominions. We need not follow his operations in detail. Suffice it to say he succeeded. Sanguinary battles in the open field, and still more sanguinary massacres after the fights were over, at length stunned the land into a temporary peace. When Abdal Malek died (A.H. 86, A.D. 705), some years had elapsed since any rival

Caliph had openly taken the field against him. But the followers of Ali had only given way for a time to recover their strength for new efforts.

Southward of Cufah and Bussorah, but separated from those cities, and from the cultivated parts of Central Arabia, by the trackless waste of the Red Desert, the province of Hasa stretches along the black and sluggish waters of the Persian Gulf. Into this province the shattered wrecks of the Aliites retreated. With the sea on one side and the desert on the other they might defy even the deep hate of Hijjaj. That Red Desert, Mr. Palgrave tells us, is the terror even of the wandering Bedouin. So light are the sands, he says, so capricious the breezes which traverse its surface, that no trace of preceding travellers remain to those who follow; while intense heat and glaring light reflected on all sides combine with drought and weariness to confuse and bewilder the adventurer, till he loses his compass, and wanders up and down at random amid a vast solitude, soon to become his grave. Beyond this unblest land rises a low range of hills; and on the further side of these lies the province of Hasa, thickly studded with oases, and green with groves of trees. The people of this part of Arabia had never taken but the most superficial varnish of Islamism, and they divested themselves of even that as soon as an opportunity was granted to them. Hence, whoever had fought against the religion of the Prophet was sure of a welcome here. The followers of Moseilama the Liar, the Separatists who had broken away from Ali, the Fire-worshippers from Persia, dwelt here in amicable intercourse. The followers of Ali now brought an additional religion with them, but diverse as were these forms of faith, they were knit together by a common hatred of the orthodox Moslem. And in the intermingling of them all we can trace the origin of those wild and mystical superstitions which were subsequently engrafted upon the narrow and stern monotheism of the Koran.

Hither then the Shias retired to brood upon their defeats and their wrongs. To the unsympathising mind, nothing can well appear more insensate and unintelligible than the profound hatred which divides the Shia from the Soonnee. The one rejects the legality of the first three Caliphs; the other acknowledges it. That is all. But we know from the history of our own land, how the recollections of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby, and the scaffold in front of Whitehall transformed for one-half of the English people, the obstinate and treacherous Charles I., into "a sainted martyr" in whose cause it was a blessed thing to die. We know how some of the noblest men then in England, Ormond, Derby, Montrose, were so possessed by this imagination that they counted their lives as nothing in comparison with their

duty to him. The Cavaliers of England, even the wildest and most reckless of them, honestly believed that they were fighting for a divine principle, and not merely for Charles I. or Charles II. The Republican notion, that a people had the right to regulate their Government as they thought best, appeared to them a manifest opposition to the will of God. He would not have permitted kings to exist at all, unless kings were essential to peace and order. The defeat and execution of Charles I., so far from eradicating this belief, had the effect only of stamping it even more ineffaceably in their minds. The avengers of Hoosein appear to have passed through a very similar mental process. A mere difference of opinion, as we have already said, was gradually transmuted into a vital article of faith.

Originally there seems to have been no dispute between the two sections of Islam, but that the spiritual leader of the Moslemin must be elected by a popular vote. But as calamity and misfortune thickened around the cause of Ali, as he and his sons descended one after another into an untimely grave, his followers discarded this election by universal suffrage as something heretical and profane. The dangers of the battle field, the pains of persecution, clothed with a more than earthly splendour the objects for whom they were endured. It seemed impossible that so much zeal, so much courage, such a vast extent of misery could have no higher originating cause than a simple question of election. Tradition was not slack to invest Ali and his sons with a gorgeous halo of supernatural attributes. In the contemplation of these attributes, in the recognition of a divine right to command inherent in the family of Ali, the Shia found a consolation in the midst of disaster and death. And thus was gradually educed the fundamental tenet of his sect—their devotion to the Imam or spiritual head of the Faith. It was incredible, they affirmed, that the supreme authority, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, should have been left to the chances of an election by vulgar and ignorant people. The Prophet could not have neglected to decide so weighty a matter himself; from this it was a short step to the conviction that he could have decided it in one way only; that he actually did decide it in that way; and that the post of Imam belonged and could belong only to Ali and his family. Devotion to the lawful Imam, whether visibly at the head of Islam or not, became by *this process* the first and last duty of the true Moslem. It was held to constitute the whole of religion, and all the positive precepts of the Koran were declared to be allegorical statements of this one doctrine. The injunction to pray was declared to be only a mode of symbolising that entire devotion which was due to the

Imam as the Head of Islam. Fasting became the symbol of that silence and secrecy which it behoved the Faithful to keep regarding their faith in the presence of strangers and persecutors. The prohibition of fornication was refined away into a warning forbidding men to swerve, even in thought, from a complete and absolute submission to the Imam, or his temporary representative on earth. Thus even the small amount of human love and human sympathy which Muhammad had allowed to his God was successfully got rid of, and the follower of Ali remained confronted by a dark and inscrutable Fate. Fatalism is laid down, in so many words, again and again in the Koran. But the Prophet was better than his system. His mind could not rest satisfied with a conception of God which declared simply that he brought men to heaven or plunged them into hell quite independently of moral considerations. He addresses Him as the Merciful and Compassionate. He was a profound believer in the efficacy of prayer, of alms, of fasting. The government of the world he declared to be a moral government, with no greater outrage upon the reason and conscience of mankind than is inflicted by Calvinism or the Westminster Confession of Faith. But all these softening traits, under the manipulation of the Shia, ceased to have any reference to the Deity at all. They were held only to apply to the Imam; and the Deity was converted into a horrible Moloch who "burns one individual through all eternity amid red hot chains and seas of molten fire, and seats another in the plenary enjoyment of an everlasting brothel between forty celestial concubines just and equally for his own good pleasure, and because he wills it." From this doctrine sprung as a matter of necessity that of the indifference of human actions, with all the horrid cruelties and sensual abominations which follow in its wake, and which have given the Shia an infamous notoriety in the annals of the East. But the Arab, as we have aleady quoted, is a believing rather than a religious animal. The old Sabœanism of Hasa and Oman, the Dualism of the Persian Fireworshipper, the tenets of the sect of Moseilama, the witchcraft and magic imported from Africa, even some vague conception of the Incarnation, had entered into Hasa to mingle with the naked monotheism of the Muhammadan. The Arab accepted them all. Beyond the flaming walls of the Universe, outside of the reach of human ken, who could tell what things the inscrutable Fate he worshipped, might not have prepared for the children of men? A swarm of wild beliefs and portentous imaginings, assumed gradually some semblances of a system, and from Hasa as a centre "rayed out" confusion, disorder, and perplexity into the regions of orthodox Islam. Secret societies sprang up in all parts of Asia with a regular organisation of *dais* or

missionaries to win adherents to the family of Ali, and to some one or other modification of the tenets held by his followers. Moore's "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" was one of these emissaries of disorder. Babek, who taught the indifference of human actions and exhibited it in acts of brutal lust and inhuman cruelty during the reigns of the Caliphs Mansour and Mutassem, was another. Both these insurrections were productive of an infinitude of human suffering, but the power of the Caliphs was still too strong and closely knit together to be seriously endangered by them. Not so with the terrible outbreak of the Karmathians in the fourth century of the Hijrah. The vast dominions of the Caliphs had then begun to crumble away, and break up from within with the rapidity which belongs to Oriental polities; and the Karmathians shook to the very centre the already weakened fabric.

The foundation stone of the Muhammadan Polity was the absolute combination of the supreme spiritual and temporal power in a single functionary. Every thing that proceeded from the mouth of the Prophet had been declared by him to be a divine communication transmitted through the Archangel Gabriel. Is his favourite wife Ayesha suspected of adultery? The angel Gabriel appears with a communication which not only restores her good name, but announces the exact punishment to be inflicted upon those who dared to think otherwise. Is the Prophet smitten with an illicit admiration for the wife of his adopted son? The complaisant Gabriel again appears upon the scene, absolving the Prophet from the morality which enchained smaller folk. There was nothing too small or too trivial not to become a subject of divine communication. And hence the Koran is not only an account of the relations between man and his Creator, but a code of laws to regulate marriage, divorce, concubinage, inheritance, and all the other thousand and one matters which the Governor of an Arab tribe would be called upon to decide; and every such law was stamped with the seal of a divine authority, which rendered it incapable of change or modification. To these in after days were added "the Traditions," which in sacredness and authority were raised to a level with the precepts laid down in the Koran. In a word, the Muhammadan theory was, that, before the death of the Prophet, a complete guide to conduct in all the concerns of life had been laid down for men by God himself. There was only needed a single functionary to see it carried into effect. The Caliph was that functionary. He was the Vicar or Lieutenant of God. The Church of Rome has always aspired to such a position; but there is this broad difference between her pretensions and the position of the Caliphs. The Church of Rome is herself in possession of a Spirit of knowledge and light which gives her

(so to speak) a co-ordinate power of jurisdiction with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. This has, hitherto, been the secret of her power. She has been able to adapt her teaching to the changing necessities of the age; and incorporate into the Church every new manifestation of spiritual life which had succeeded in rooting itself in the convictions of men. Such a belief was altogether contrary to the Muhammadan faith. The Caliph was simply the executor of a law which he could not change or modify; although as the Vicegerent of God he was also the source whence all authority proceeded, whether temporal or spiritual, and as such entitled to unquestioning obedience. In a word, the government of the Caliph was a highly centralised despotism which fastened with an iron grasp alike on the actions of men and on their inner lives. Progress either in thought or in political freedom became impossible, because change at all was tantamount to rebellion against the written decrees of God. Nothing was permitted to be sown; and every seed of a higher life which chance might have wafted thither, had to be destroyed the moment it took root. The sweet and purifying charities of domestic life could have no place in a society where lust was stamped with the divine approval, and its unlimited gratification declared to be the highest reward the Creator could bestow upon the creature He had made. Intellectual power, possessing no legitimate sphere of activity, was driven perforce into a perverted and useless mysticism. Religion petrified into a formal round of rites and ceremonies, which affected the inner life of the worshipper as much or as little as the praying machine of the Buddhist. In the reign of Mamoun a desperate effort was made to relieve the world of this horrible incubus of a dead revelation, and give some freedom to the intellect and reason. A party which numbered the Caliph himself among its adherents denied that the Koran was the uncreated eternal word of God. They declared it to be the word of the Prophet only, and as such liable to correction and modification. But the attempt failed, and the Faith of Islam has remained ever since "stiff as a dead man's hand." A fearfuller curse was never bequeathed to humanity. People talk of the crimes of Christendom, and it is impossible to think of them without the bitterest sorrow and humiliation. But they are, at least, in direct and manifest opposition to the precepts of Christianity; whereas slavery, lust, tyranny, and the degradation of women, are not accidents of Islam, which may be removed without damage to the main structure. They are of its very essence. The very sublimity of the Prophet's presentation of the One God, by investing his other doctrines with a fictitious splendour which fascinated the imagination, has had the effect of rendering them indefinitely

more powerful for evil. And yet there are men, with the spectacle of Persia, Arabia, and Central Asia before them, with the knowledge that the utter corruption of society in all these countries is directly traceable to the effects of the Muhammadan religion, who would have us believe it sound policy to expend the imperial revenues in the systematic dissemination of this poison among our fellow-subjects in this country. This, however, is a digression.

The rule of the Caliphs was a highly centralised despotism—a despotism such as a European can with difficulty conceive of. The West, it is true, has suffered grievously from "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," but with the worst tyrannies there has never ceased to co-exist the idea of duties on the part of rulers towards those they ruled. This has been acknowledged by the tyrant, not less than his subjects, even when he was acting in opposition to it. But in the atmosphere of Islam such a conception could not live. The absolute omnipotence of God crushed all else. There could be no moral relations between a Caliph and his people, when both were subject to one fixed and unalterable law; and hence that almost superhuman selfishness, that astounding indifference to human suffering which are the especial characteristics of the Muhammadan potentate. The governors of the various provinces were clothed with powers as broad and sweeping as those of the Caliph himself; but their tenure of place depended on his sole will and pleasure. Any dereliction from the right path brought with it—at least while the central source of authority was still strong and full of energy—a prompt and often fearful retribution. The plan generally seems to have been to depose him at once and despatch his bitterest enemy to take his place, whose first act would be to destroy a possible rival. There was no regular mode of execution. Beheading, indeed, was the most common; but Caliphs and Governors alike never seemed to have hesitated to glut their revenge by devising cruel and prolonged tortures. Oriental history abounds with stories of terrific deaths, inflicted for no other reason than to torture an enemy; and these impress the reader with all the more horror, because they are told without any expressions of wonder or reproach. The acts were far too common to allow of such feelings. But a despotism, just because it succeeds so completely in crushing the spirit of its subjects, can never be other than a fair weather government. It stands upon force, and therefore must fall the moment a stronger force appears upon the field. It has no reserve fund of loyalty or patriotism on which it can draw. The Caliphs suffered from this. A rebellious governor could only be coerced by a loyal one. A loyal governor could be induced to coerce him only by an enormous extension of wealth and power. That extension once granted, the governor

became virtually independent—the Caliph preferring a nominal submission to a struggle which might end in his own complete defeat. Ul Mamoun, the greatest of the Caliphs, was also the first who was compelled to make one of these concessions. He granted the province of Khorassan in perpetuity to his General Taher. It was like the letting out of waters. The Soffarides drove out the family of Taher; the Samanides supplanted the Soffarides; the Ghaznivides, these; and so the kaleidoscope of Eastern History changes and shifts in endless unrest, as "as in dry Sahara, when the winds waken and lift and winnow the immensity of sand! The air itself is (travellers say) a dim sand air; and dim looming through it, the wonderfullest colonnades of sand pillars rush whirling from this side and from that, like so many spinning dervishes of a hundred feet stature; and dance their huge desert-waltz there." * A true and terrible picture of Oriental history. What happened to the mute and suffering people while these mad spinning dervishes of conquerors danced their huge desert waltz over unburied corpses and ruined cities, is terrible to imagine. Occasionally a flash of light reveals them to us perishing by thousands of famine, or ground to the earth under some inhuman oppressor. But any one can perceive for himself that all faith in a righteous God, or any divinely appointed order of the Universe, must have given way under the weight of these accumulated sufferings. It is by the contemplation of these that we penetrate to the meaning of Orientalism in all its diverse manifestations—of Sufism, which strove to seek for consolation by complete abstraction from a world racked and tormented as a prey by all the powers of evil—of Eastern Poetry which finds its fount of inspiration, its type of human joys, in the transient beauty of spring, or the fleeting splendour of a full-blown rose; and, lastly, of those wild and desperate efforts to utterly destroy the foundations of all order, to set men free from the tyranny of all moral laws and all religious creeds, of which the Karmathian insurrection was the first, and the sect of the "Assassins" the last and most terrible result. Accepting the fundamental tenets of Islam—the omnipotence of God and the fixedness of Fate—the ruthless logic of the Karmathian declared that prayer, alms, pilgrimages, were all equally vain and useless—snares contrived to exalt a certain portion of mankind at the expense of the vast majority. A society erected upon these manifest falsehoods must be extirpated root and branch before men could obtain that modicum of enjoyment which was to be snatched from the fleeting hours of life.

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* Carlyle's French Revolution, vol. II., p. 129.

The disintegrating process to which we have referred was advancing with fearful swiftness, but the Caliph was still a potentate of considerable power, when the Karmathians broke out into revolt. Mutamed was the name of the reigning Sovereign. The disorders they at first excited were not considerable; but they continually increased in strength, and with every accession of strength their blows fell heavier upon the tottering fabric of orthodoxy. In the course of six years they had laid waste with fire and sword the provinces of Irak, Syria, and Mesopotamia; they had stormed the cities of Baalbec and Salenico, and massacred the citizens. The armies of the Caliphs were defeated again and again. The caravans proceeding to the Holy City were repeatedly plundered, and the pilgrims murdered in cold blood. All the country which lay between Bagdad and Mecca became a scene of smoking ruins, weeping, and bloodshed; the leaders of the Karmathians became powerful princes. In the province of Hasa, shut in on every side by the burning sands of the Red Desert, they ruled secure from invasion. The remains of their magnificent palace is still to be seen on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and was visited by Mr. Gifford Palgrave. It was in A.H. 317 that these ruthless sectaries committed their most dreadful outrage—an outrage which filled Islam with an indescribable horror, and an intensity of hatred which led ultimately to the suppression of the Karmathians.

Mecca is a long, narrow, unremarkable city, standing in a waste and desolate valley, and encircled by waste and desolate hills, where not a vestige of grass or green herb, and hardly a single tree, relieves the intolerable glare of the sand. Above it, the hot Arabian sun pours down its fiercest heat; which is reflected back from the bare rocky hills in almost greater intensity. By situation, the holy city of Islam would never have been, at best, more than a watering station for the weary caravan in its passage across the desert. An accident, one might say, has changed its destiny. It possessed the world-famous black stone which, through immemorial ages, had been an object of worship to the tribes of Arabia. No reader needs to be informed how the Prophet, desperate of uprooting this deep-rooted superstition from the minds of his countrymen, was fain to compromise with it—how he interwove the worship of the black stone with that of the One God; adopted into his own system the complicated ceremonial which expressed that worship, and thereby converted, for all the regions of Islam, the barren valley of Mecca into a spot as sacred as the city of Jerusalem—so deep and so enduring is the power of religious associations. At the time of which we are writing, the pilgrimage of Mecca was still conducted with something of its first fervour and splen-

dour. The number of the devout was enormous. From the furthest confines of Khorassan, from Damascus, Egypt, and Africa, they flocked, secure in the protection afforded by the sacred months, in a world peopled by the worshippers of the One God. The Caravan had arrived safely at Mecca,—an unusual event, and Mecca was crowded by thousands of devotees from every quarter whither the creed of the Prophet had penetrated. On the 8th Dzul Hajj, the great pilgrimage is made to the mountain of Arafat. The city and all the narrow valley were filled to over-flowing with an innumerable concourse of men and horses and camels ; each caravan striving to fall into its appointed station. Suddenly the gleam of swords and spears flashed in a line of fire above the hills overlooking Mecca. The Karmathians under their fierce chieftain, Abou Tahir, had marched rapidly across the desert, through the uplands of Nejd, and now stood mustered in battle array upon the mountains with the devoted city at their feet. The vast multitude wedged into the narrow streets could neither fight nor fly. The swords of the Karmathians hewed their bloody way through an unresisting mass. The slaughter did not cease until thirty thousand corpses lay rotting in the sacred valley. The holy well of Zem Zem was choked with the bodies of the slain. The pavement of the Beitullah—the House of God—was torn up, and the slaughtered devotees buried in the holy precincts in promiscuous heaps without any of those rites which are held essential in the interment of a true believer. Mecca was pillaged. The cloth covering of the Kaaba removed ; and the black stone, split into pieces by a blow from a sacrilegious Karmathian, was conveyed away to Hasa, and not restored for a space of twenty-two years. "On the whole," says an Arabic writer, "no Moslems either before or after them committed such crimes against Islamism as they ; most of Irak and of the land of the east (*i.e.*, Mesopotamia), the province of Hejaz, Syria, and the country up to the gates of Misr (Egypt) fell into their power." At the same time this terrible outrage had the effect of uniting the orthodox against the common enemy. It became a struggle not only for the preservation of Islam, but for that of society against anarchy. The conflict raged with decreasing severity for nearly a century, when the Karmathians yielded up the struggle. They were finally driven back and cooped up into the narrow strip of cultivation that runs along the Persian Gulf. The victors could not pursue their advantage further. The Red Desert presented an insuperable obstacle ; and Hasa and Bahrein were never restored to the true fold of Islam. The district, Mr. Gifford Palgrave tells us, has remained permanently estranged from Islam, a heap of moral and religious ruins, of Karmathian and esoteric doctrines. The Wahabee at

present reigns supreme there, and compels an external orthodoxy; but, Mr. Palgrave adds, "the Karmathian reaction burns secretly on, and waits but an occasion to break out afresh into a blaze, sufficient to consume, perhaps for the last time, the superstructure of Wahabeeism and Islam." It was a seed flung from this teeming nursery ground of heresy and abomination that produced that monstrous growth, the sect of "The Assassins."

(*To be continued.*) R. D. O.

ART. II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEMALE MIND IN INDIA.

1.—*Selection of Discourses at the meetings of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.* Vols. I., II., III. Calcutta : 1840, 1842, 1843.

2.—*Rámaranjiká.* By Tekchánd Thákur. Calcutta: 1860.

THE languages, literature, and philosophy of India have furnished inexhaustible subjects for investigation and study to the scholars and *savans* both of the East and of the West. Continued numismatic, archæological, and philological enquiries have thrown no small amount of light on the past condition of the country ; and the results of such researches now put us in possession of some information, however imperfect in several respects, about the social condition of the people in former ages. In estimating the position of a nation in the scale of civilisation, one of the first enquiries naturally touches upon the culture of the female mind. Though diffident of doing justice to the discussion, we will present to our readers what we have been able to collect from all available sources. To clear the way, and in the hope of rendering our treatment of the subject more lucid, we will first attempt a rapid sketch of the development of the Hindú mind in general, and of the different phases through which it passed in early times.

The Aryas, the meaning of whose name is "excellent, honourable," were first settled in the Panjáb. It is supposed that they had been living in the northern regions, whence they came by the north-west. The aborigines made room for them as they gradually extended their dominion. The Aryavarta constituted the plains of the Ganges and the country between the Himálaya and the Vindhya hills ; but gradually the boundary was extended. The existence of villages, cities, or fortified places, houses, kings, rulers or governors, different grades of persons, different professions and trades, is a clear proof of early social organization showing life and activity. But with certain classes mundane occupation appears to have been subordinate to spiritual contemplation. Those who were settled on the banks of the Saraswatí made the study of God and soul the warp and woof of their thought. Their spoken language was the Sanskrit, which grew in richness as it was used in the outpourings of their souls to the divine powers, which their understandings could not in the first instance fathom further than the elements of nature. The result of this constant devotion of their minds to divine contem-

plation is the Rig-Veda, in which the three other Vedas are named; but the latter were subsequently composed as distinct works for the use of the different classes of priests who gradually were called upon to perform special services; *viz.*, the Yajur for Adhvarya, Sáma for Udgata, and Atharva for Brahma. The Rig was intended for Hota. It is in verse and prose, and so are the other Vedas. The Sáma is the Rig set to tune; and the Atharva relates chiefly to expiatory ceremonies and to those for appeasing, blessing, cursing, &c. The Vedas embody the productions of four successive periods, *viz.*,—I., Chhandas or original hymns; II., Mantra or Sanhitá, ceremonial or textual; III., Bráhmana, or explanation of the hymns; IV., Sútra or Vedánga, concise directions for practical ceremonies. The last few chapters of the Bráhmana are called Aranyakas, or intended to be read in the forest; and Upanishads, or intended to be read by sitting near the preceptor. The Upanishads consequently form the last division of the Vedic literature. According to Walter Elliot their number is 123, according to Dr. Roer, 138, according to Mahávákya Ratnavali, 1180; but according to Sankara Achárya, 10 or 11, which must be the ancient Vedic Upanishads—the others having been written at different periods in support of particular creeds, and being evidently of later date.

In the Rig and Yajur Veda Sanhitás, monotheism is distinctly inculcated; and they prove the belief of the Aryas, to quote the words of Professor Wilson, "in one God when nought else existed, and that the world was created by his fiat and organized by his wisdom." Repeated passages say "there is in truth but one deity, the Supreme Spirit. Adore God alone, know God alone, give up all other discourse." As to the immortality of the soul, "the Vedic hymns recognized unreservedly the difference between a material and spiritual state of being, and looked to the survival of the soul" in a heavenly sphere; but there is no distinct mention of the doctrine of metempsychosis which subsequently entered so largely into the theology and philosophy of the Hindús. The Upanishads, though embodying the scattered and detached views of the Vedic Sanhitá or Mantra, contain lofty and clear views on God and the soul; with the commentary and explanation of later writers. While the Upanishads bear the impress of elevated and spiritual minds, the Bráhmana is the embodiment of ritualism and ceremonial rites. The Vedánga to which we have already referred not only treats of Kalpa (ceremonies), but also of education, grammar, versification, lexicography, and astronomy.

The Chhandas period was characterized by the spontaneous and free expression of thought and feeling. The Sanhitá was the age of digestion and reflection. The Bráhmana period was the period or methodization and elucidation; and the Sútra era was the era

for amplification both of the theology and of the ceremonial of the Bráhmana. The Sútras do not appear to have been simple enough, as they were followed by the Parisishta, or appendix supplying what had been overlooked.

There are traces of priests in the Rig-Veda, but the organization of the order does not appear to have been made during the Chhandas or Mantra period; and up to the close of the latter period, the Bráhmans were not recognised as a sacerdotal class. The predominance of the ceremonial element in the worship naturally led to the formation of the clergy; whose influence and authority grew with the growth of the Vedic hymns inculcating their employment as "domestic chaplains," and holding them out as model husbands with whom the Rajanyas and the Vaisyas could not be compared.

The Vedic idea of caste as entertained by Bhrigu is contained in the Mokshadharma of the Mahábhárat. According to that Rishi there is in reality no distinction of caste. The whole world is full of God; but the distinctions were made as the Bráhmans took to other occupations and became carnal. Be the cause whatever it may, it is clear that the latter part of the Vedic age was not free from the influence of caste. But as what is abnormal cannot be received universally, the clergy exasperated the other classes and there were disparaging songs. "The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one to offer libations." Another effect was that the priests were divided, and became hostile to each other. Their despotism roused others to think. The Vedas began to lose their hold on thoughtful minds. In the Taittreya Sanhitá, the first three Vedas are described as "limited;" and "there is no end of sacred knowledge."

The Chhandagya Upanishad contains a dialogue between Nárada and Sanatkumára, which distinctly shows the marked changes in the religious sentiments of the age. Nárada appeared before Sanatkumára for instruction and was requested to state what he had learnt. Nárada said, "I am instructed, Venerable Sage! in the Rig-Veda, the Yajur Veda, the Sáma Veda, the Atharva (which is) the fourth, the Itihásas and Puránas (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the *pitris*, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the gods, the knowledge of Scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. I, venerable man! know only the hymns (mantras); while I am ignorant of soul." Sanatkumára replied—"That which thou hast studied is nothing but name."

The growth of heterodoxy may be traced from an early period. The fire was long latent and smouldering; but it blazed forth as the undue influence of the hierarchy was felt by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Viswámitra, who was himself one of the Vedic writers,

and Janaka were the first to lead the van of opposition. Vrihaspati, who was perhaps encouraged by this secession, attacked the Vedas and the Bráhmans; calling "the three authors of the Vedas, buffoons, rogues, and fiends." Such continued anathemas and vehement denunciations of priestcraft necessitated a change. Society was convulsed; and the leading intellects of the age were divided into no less than sixteen schools, including the Chárvák and Buddhist. The most prominent schools were six, *viz.*, Vedánta, Mimánsá, Vaishesika, Nyáya, Sánkhya, and Pátanjali.

The Vedánta means the Upanishad or the concluding part of the Vedas. The Vedánta Darsana is the Saríra sutra, or instructions on the soul; so named, because it is based on the Vedánta or Upanishad. The Mimánsá is nearly allied to the Vedánta, and reconciles the Vedic ritualism with reason. The Vaishesika treats of physics (particular or atomic); and the Nyáya treats of metaphysics. The Sánkhya is supposed to be atheistic, but in reality it maintains that a knowledge of God cannot be attained by disputation. It does not hold, like the Vedánta, that all individual souls are mere emanations of the soul of the universe to which they return; but looks upon them as independent entities which, while in flesh, are under the influence of Prakrita or earthly trammels, but when liberated are not born again. What the Sánkhya inculcated, Pátanjalí elaborated; and reduced the theory to practice by laying down the *modus operandi* for the regeneration of a man as a spiritual being. Of the six *darsanas*, the Sánkhya is considered latitudinarian; as it is based on "deliberation," and hence is not orthodox in its tenets. But it is a mistake to call it atheistical, as it "culminates in Brahma as the Primeval Power." This view is also confirmed by the Mahábhárat, Gita, Srimat Bhágbata, and Yoge Báshista Rámáyana. The same mistake has been made in attributing atheism to Buddhism, which is clearly based on the Sánkhya philosophy. Vans Kennedy has expressed an opinion that "the Hindú philosophers of every school and every period asserted a spiritual principle alone, and never countenanced materialism." During the Sútra period, matters domestic and social were regulated according to the forms and rules then in existence. But to meet the varied requirements of society, and all possible contingencies, we had subsequently the codes of law treating of *áchár* or ceremonial and ethical laws, Vyavahára or jurisprudence, and Práyaschitta or expiation and punishment of crime. Of the different Rishis who legislated for this country, Manu is considered the highest. Sir William Jones places his code about 880 B.C. The opinion which he expresses of the code is that, in spite of its faults, it is marked by "a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures." All the codes profess to be based on the Vedas; but what the Vedas

did not prohibit, what they tolerated and even encouraged, Manu condemns—*viz.*, the use of animal food; and he gives distinct injunctions for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

The gradual formation and development of Buddhism was owing to the predominance of the Bráhmanical priesthood and the simultaneous progress of caste dividing society into sections hostile to each other. The religion of Sákya Muni appeared as the exponent of the theological views of the seceders in the chief cities of India about the middle of the third century B.C. The Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas were at the bottom of this heterodox movement. When the first Buddhist convocation was held, there were sixty-two heretical sects. In 246 B.C., the third convocation was held under the powerful auspices of Asoka. The people had been prepared for the denunciation of caste, the defiance of the Vedas and of the sacerdotal authorities, the abstinence from animal food, and the practice of purity and holiness leading to *nirvána* or *spirituality*—not annihilation. The edicts proclaimed by Asoka suited admirably the temper of the age. The language used by the preachers, *viz.*, the Páli, was the language of women and domestic servants. The religion was not only received throughout the length and breadth of the country, but was gradually extended to Ceylon, Siam, Ava, Pegu, the Burmese Empire, China, Thibet, Tartary, Mongolia, and Siberia. The expansion and culmination of Buddhism took place during the Greek connexion with India which commenced in 327 B.C. The decline of Buddhism commenced in the seventh century, A.D. In the 16th century it had disappeared so totally, that Abulfazl could not get any one to give an account of it. One great cause of the gradual decline of this religion was the want of competent teachers and preachers. The people who had been so powerfully moved to do what is humane and holy, began to lose all respect for the creed when practices opposite to what had been laid down as sacred, were freely carried on. This gave rise to another sect—the Jainas. According to their own accounts they look up to Mahávíra; who flourished before Gautama Buddha, whom he is said to have taught. Jainism cannot be satisfactorily traced to the Greek period in India. It gained ascendancy in the 8th or 9th century A.D.; and held its sway to the middle of the 11th century, A.D. Its assimilation to Bráhmanism was marked. It adopted its pantheon; and inculcated deference to the Vedas, the observance of caste, and the employment of priests from among the Bráhmans. Bráhmanism had to carry on a hard campaign for a thousand years. In the 18th century A.D., it again flourished throughout India Proper; and imparted polytheistical influence both to Buddhism and Jainism.

In 1157 A.D., the Muhammadan Empire was founded in India; and after a succession of dynasties, it was extinguished in A.D. 1761, One would have supposed that from the period of the Greek connexion and the predominance of Buddhism, the Hindú mind would have been directed and devoted to Buddhistical literature to the neglect of the cultivation of the Bráhmanical learning; but this is not borne out by historic records. Vikramáditya flourished in Ujjainí in 56 B.C. He was a great encourager of learning, and his palace was the focus of the intellect of the age. The nine gems of his court contributed richly to the enrichment of dramatic literature. From the first century to a late period we had dramatic works, Puránas, tales, and numerous other works literary and scientific. One peculiarity of the history of the Hindú mind is, that it preserved its tranquillity in the midst of social and political convulsions. While the country was being rent into antagonistic classes and sects, the cultivation of science and literature was not neglected, nor was it confined to any particular part of the country. After the Christian era we had several astronomers. Aryabhatta in A.D. 476 was born near Patna, and is called "the founder of Mathematical and Astronomical Science in India." Varáha Mihira in A.D. 587 flourished at Ujjainí, and was celebrated for his astronomical learning. He was acquainted with the Greek astronomy. Brahmagupta in A.D. 628; Bháskar Achárya in A.D. 1019. The latter flourished at Ujjainí, and "was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus." Another subject to which the Hindú mind was directed in later ages, is *law*. We have had numerous glossaries, commentaries on the text books, digests of the text books, and commentaries forming the authorities for the five schools, *viz.*, Bengal, Mithilá, Benares, Marhattá, and Drávir. Raghunandan, who is the author of a complete digest for Bengal, lived in the 16th century A.D. The word Purána occurs in the Vedas; but what Puránas or parts of them existed then it is difficult to determine. As they were evidently written to counteract the influence of Buddhism and work on the popular mind, it is not at all unlikely that some of them were composed at an early date. Their composition is, however, supposed to have commenced in the 7th century A.D. Both Colebrooke and Wilson ascribe the authorship of the Srimat Bhágbata to Bopdeva in the 13th century A.D., after the appearance of the Vishnu Purána. The native tradition is strongly against this hypothesis. Bábu Rájendralál Mitra, a distinguished oriental scholar, in noticing the Muktáphala says,—"This work and another lately found by me in which the same author gives an abstract of the contents of the Bhágbata, afford strong presumptive evidence against the opinion now generally received by oriental scholars, that the Bhágbata

was written by Bopdeva. A much stronger proof, however, is afforded by the Dánaságára of Ballála Sena, King of Bengal, in which Bhágbata is repeatedly quoted. That work also quotes from the Adi Purána, which Wilson supposed was composed within the last three centuries. Bopdeva, according to Colebrooke and Wilson, flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries; Ballála lived in the 11th."

Of the Tantras some must be old. We meet with the word in the Mahábhárat as forming a part of study for the Rishis. The majority have emanated from Western Assam; and had a large influence on Buddhism.

These different productions show the fertility of the Hindú mind; and were subsequently followed by a mass of general and sectarian literature from the pens of those who rose to advocate particular creeds and forms of worship. The great champions of Bráhmanism were Kumárilá Bhatta, "who was a violent opposer of the Bauddhas;" Sankara Achárya, the great Vedántic Reformer, who flourished in the 8th or 9th century; Rámánuja, who lived in the 12th; Mádhaváchárya in the 14th; and Ballabháchárya in the 16th century A.D. The last three were Vaishnava teachers. Rámánujwás was the first to inculcate the Bhukti doctrine, finding perhaps that the abstract conception of the Deity was much too metaphysical for the popular mind. His example was followed by several others, including Chaitanya in Bengal. Of all the sects, the Vaishnavas have been most numerous next to the Bauddhas. We had 29 Vaishnavas, 9 Saivas, 4 Sáktas, 7 sub-divisions of Sikhs, and 10 miscellaneous sects.

There is one subject which demands some attention from us. Max Müller has expressed an opinion that the Vedas were orally preserved and were probably not reduced to writing till after the Bráhmana and during the Sútra period. While he admits that the art of writing was known here before the time of Alexander, he maintains that it was "never used for literary purposes before the time of Pánini;" who lived, according to him, about 350 B.C., or "before the first spreading of Buddhism in India."

Before the Bráhmana period, the Hindús had made considerable advance in civilisation. They were not a nomadic, but an agricultural, a manufacturing, and a commercial nation. Astronomy was cultivated from the earliest period. From the examination of a calendar appended to the Rig-Veda, Colebrooke holds that it must have been regulated in the 14th century B.C. Bentley maintains that the Hindú lunar mansions were determined in 1425 B.C., and the solar zodiac by Parásara in 1150 B.C. The curriculum of study prosecuted during the Vedic period is contained in the list given by Nárada quoted above.

The Vedas were not only divided into chapters, but were also heterogeneous in their contents. How could so vast a record of diversified knowledge be orally preserved? How could astronomical and mathematical calculations and investigations, the agricultural and manufacturing and commercial pursuits, and the administration of law, be carried on without the aid of writing? Goldstücker has shown that Pánini lived before the Atharva Veda and before the Upanishads were composed, and quotes the authority of Yájnavalkya, who was a Vedic character: "The first three classes, the twice born, should *see* it (Veda), think over it, and hear it." We are informed that in the time of Pánini the cattle were marked on the ear. In Manu there is *distinct* mention of writing. Speaking of the Súdra he says (X 100)—"Let him principally follow those mechanical occupations as *joinery* and *masonry*, or those various practical arts as *painting* and *writing*, by which he may serve the twice-born." Again (in IX., 330 and 332), speaking of the Vaisya class he recommends them "to know the correct modes of measuring and weighing, and the various dialects of men." How could measuring, weighing, and the various dialects be learnt if figures and letters did not exist? The distinction between *sruti* and *smriti* is that the one is a revelation and the other a tradition; but it does not follow that *smriti*, though it professed to be based on the *sruti* in all its authorities, must be posterior to it, more especially as Manu was himself a Vedic character. In 1837, James Prinsep declared that "the most ancient mode of denoting letters in India was by the use of letters in alphabetical order." Thomas in his *Pathán Kings of Dehli* says,—"From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved in very archaic periods, either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures." Max Müller admits that when the modern plays were written, "writing was generally practised by women as well as men." This is borne out both by Vikramorvasí and by Sakuntalá. In the former the bark of the birch tree is mentioned as the writing material. In the latter the heroine herself exclaims,—"How should I commit to writing the song I have composed, the materials not being available?" In the *Buddhist Scripture* by S. Beal, high antiquity is given to the Sanskrit letters which the Buddhists consider "have remained the same from the creation of the world."

Vrihaspati, a Vedic personage, says:—

ষান্মাসিকেঽপি সময়ে ভ্রান্তিঃ সংজায়তে য়তঃ।

ধাত্রাক্ষরাণি সৃষ্টানি পত্রারূঢ়ান্যতঃ পুরা।

"Whereas the memory becomes oblivious in six months, there-"fore Bidhátá in ancient times created letters on leaves."

We now proceed to consider what the state of the female culture was from the Vedic age.

The Aryas appear to have been contemplative and religious. They were domestic rather than social. Woman is described as "the light of the dwelling." The conception of a wife is contained in some of the early hymns:—"Go exhilarated to thy dear wife, be exhilarated with thy wife." "A wife, Indra! is one's home; she is a man's dwelling." In the hymns addressed to Ushá the invocation is "like a maid, triumphing in her (beautiful) form, thou goddess advancest to meet the god who seeks after thee, smiling, youthful, and resplendent." Again, "as a loving wife shews herself to her husband, so does Ushá smiling. She is doing service to the gods by causing all worshippers to awake and sacrificial fires to be kindled." There is a hymn in the Atharva Veda which is deserving of notice as it bears on the domestic life. "I impart you concord, with unity of heads and freedom from hatred; delight one on another as a cow at the birth of a calf. May the son be obedient to his father and of one mind with his mother: may the wife at peace with her husband speak to him honied words. Let not brother hate brother nor sister; concordant and united in will speak to one another with honied words." Originally there was no priest—no temple—no public worship. In every hamlet and town the worship was simply domestic. Every man prayed with his wife and was thus his own priest. In every house fire was constantly burning. One of the sacrifices was for the *pitris* or ancestors who were rendered vivid in "the mind's eye." The Rig-Veda says: "I believe I see with the mind as with the eye those who have aforetime offered the sacrifice." The hymns of Vasishtha to Varuna indicate a high spiritual elevation, and clearly show that he was praying for himself and for those around him. Bunsen observes that "the hymns not only display great beauty of language and imagery, but also discover a spiritual element, an inner purport of pure meditation," and the spirit which is lifted to the "All-good and All-wise and the Infinite one, who unrevealed to him" (the worshipper) "by nature, yet speaks to his inmost soul." It was the duty of every husband to make his wife recite the hymns once in the morning, once at noon, and once in the evening. The hymns may have been extemporaneous or otherwise. This discipline was encouraged by the Rig-Veda. It says, "He who perseveres, acquires spoil with his wife as his mate." That the constant association of the male and female minds in spiritual contemplation and religious rites was attended with good results is what the Rig-Veda bears testimony to, in one of its hymns alluding "to the piety and happiness of a married couple."

From the following passage of Harita we find that the Vedic women were divided into two classes :—

যত্তুহারীতঃ দ্বিবিধাঃ স্ত্রিয়ঃ ব্রহ্মবাদিন্যঃ সদ্যোবধূশ্চ।
তত্র ব্রহ্মবাদিনীনামুপনয়ন অগ্নীন্ধনং বেদাধ্যয়নং স্বগৃহেচ ভৈক্ষ্য-চার্য্যতি। সদ্যো বধূনামুপয়নং কৃত্বা বিবাহঃ কার্য্য ইতি। তদযুগান্বরং বিষয়ং। পুরাকল্পেষু নারীণামৌঞ্জীবন্ধনমীষ্যতে অধ্যাপনঞ্চ বেদানাং সাবিত্রী বচনং তথেতি যথা।

According to Harita, women are of two classes, Brahmabádiní and Sadyabadhu.

The Brahmabádiní should have the investiture, consecrated fire, sacrificial wood, the study of the Vedas and begging at their own houses, and the Sadyabadhu should, after the investiture, be married. Such was the practice in the former age. In the former age women were permitted to be invested with the sacred thread, *to teach* the Vedas and study the Gáyatrí.

We thus see that women not only *studied* but *taught* the Vedas, and in this respect they claimed equality with the male preceptors. That they not only received instruction from their fathers and husbands but also from preceptors, is borne out by a passage in the Sánkhayana Sútra which states that Adhvarya taught "the Apsarás, the young and fair maids by a story." Now let us see what proofs we have of the female culture. During the Chhandas' period one of the hymns was composed by Romasá, daughter of Vrihaspati and wife of Vababhya ; another by Lopamudrá, and another by Visvávára, both of the Atri family. When Janaka of Mithilá invited theologians to meet in his palace, Gárgí, "a learned female," and the daughter of Vachakru appeared there and carried on "two separate discussions" with Yájnabalkya. The Mahábhárat gives the legend of a female ascetic named Salava having visited the Court of Janaka. She was a disciple of Panchika of the Parásara *gotra*, from whom she had learnt Sánkhya, Yoga, and the practice of ceremonial rites without fruition. She said that she travelled in distant lands to extend her knowledge of God. Janaka, looking at her tender age and beauty, doubted her object, when she read to him a sharp and eloquent lecture on the subject of spirituality, telling him that he was not sufficiently advanced to appreciate her. Maitreyí, the wife of Yájnabalkya, was a woman of a high type. When he came to take leave of her, and his other wife, Kátyayaní, proposing to divide his property between them, she exclaimed, "My Lord, If this whole earth full of wealth belonged to me, should I be immortal by it ? What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal ?"

Arandhatí, the wife of Vasishtha, is described as a model woman, both as regards intellectual culture and moral excellencies. The prayer for every Hindu woman is that she may be like Arandhatí. The Yogavásishtha Rámáyana, which contains Vedic legends, speaks of a female (in the 5th Swarga) who compared to Arandhatí was equal to her in every respect except in learning. In the 15th Swarga it relates the story of the wife of a Rishi who came to him in a forest with her son, saying that she had taught him "*all the Kalá and Vidyá,*" or in other words, all external knowledge, but not that of God, and he was therefore unhappy. Atreyí, the wife of Atri, one of the eight founders of *gotras,* has been described in the Uttara Rámcharita. She was travelling and was asked by a person where she was going. She replies—

"Amidst these forests dwells the great Agastya, and many other holy teachers here with him reside; from thence I come to learn the Vedas, having lately left the lessons of Válmiki."

The Mahábhárat mentions that Assuri, a Rishi, was a disciple of Kapilá, and had a female associate and colleague named Kapilá. When Panchasika was admitted as his pupil, she brought him up as her son. We suppose it is the love of knowledge that moved certain females, married or unmarried, to seek for instruction from other Rishis, as is exemplified in the instances we have quoted. Speaking of *charans* or schools, Max Müller says, "Women are mentioned as belonging to a *charan;* for Kathí is the wife of a Bráhman who belongs to the *charan* or reads the *sukta* of the Kathas."

The Vedic women preferred a married life. The Rig-Veda says:—"Haste to those who are heroes as women who are wives:" and "happy is the woman who is handsome; she herself loves or chooses her husband among the people." If a woman were not married and had to stay at her father's, it was considered a misfortune. In Sukta VI. the following passage occurs:—"As a virtuous maiden growing old in the same dwelling with her parents claims from them her support." The Rishis originally married or not, as they pleased; but when they made up their minds to marry, they had only to call at the houses of their neighbours, where there were virgins, and ask for them. As to the idea of marriage, the Chhandogya Bráhmana alludes to it in the address of the bridegroom to the bride, "Whatever is thy heart, the same shall be mine and my heart shall be thine." The marriage was solemnised by the bridegroom taking the bride by the right hand, and "pronouncing certain sacred formulæ." The bride was then carried "on a waggon drawn by two white oxen." Marriages were monogamous as a rule, but polygamy was not rare.

Sukta VII (R.V.) alludes to the present of "five hundred brides,"

Dírghatamas, a Rishi, married ten daughters of a Rájá. Rájá Swanaya gave ten daughters to Kakshivat. Haris Chandra had a hundred wives. The Rishis not only married virgins but latterly the wives and widows of Rájnayas or Vaisyas if they did not claim the former. The wives of those Rishis who were monogamous, while sleeping in the hermitages are described "as golden altars." We will now give a brief account of a few Vedic females, bearing on the social condition of the age.

Sávitrí was the daughter of Aswapati. She was brought up in strict religious principles. When she was marriageable, her father told her that as he had received no proposals, she should make her own selection. Thus directed, she drives in a *rath* with her companions; and arrives at a hermitage in a forest, where she sees Satyaván, son of the King of Avanti, reduced to poverty and playing with the sons of Rishis. Sávitrí observes him closely, enquires and makes up her mind to be his wife. When she returns home she finds her father closetted with Nareda; who, on hearing of her selection, said that the bridegroom would die after one year. The father was unsettled and begged the daughter to change her mind. The daughter submitted that whether Satyaván lived or died, he was her husband and she could think of no one; adding that an act is in the first instance settled by the mind, it is then expressed by the lips, and is at last carried out. Her mind has already settled the act. After the marriage she came to her husband in the forest, she took off all her ornaments and put on a simple dress made of jungle bark as a token of sincere sympathy with the fallen condition of her father-in-law. She made herself dear to every one by her humility and other excellent qualities.—MAHABHARAT.

Sakuntalá was the daughter of Viswámitra, and brought up by Kanwa Rishi, in whose hermitage she lived. Dushmanta Rájá, who had been out on a hunting excursion, happened to meet her and prevailed upon her to be his wife. He left her and told her to follow him. Sakuntalá became the mother of a boy, with whom she afterwards appeared before her husband while he was seated in his palace surrounded by his ministers. She approached the Rájá; and in presenting the boy as his son introduced herself as his wife. The Rájáh denied having married her. She said that there was not a greater sin than speaking an untruth while there was nothing more elevating than *truth; truth* constituted the essence of God. Nor was there a truer friend than a devoted wife who was a help in adversity, a father in religious rites, a mother in nursing, a solace amidst the fatigues of travel. She was afterwards received by the Rájá.—MAHABHARAT.

Devayání was the daughter of the priest of the Daityas. Her

father had a disciple named Kacha who used to entertain her with music, song and dancing. After completing the course of his studies he came to take leave of her, when she could not refrain from expressing her fervent affection for him. Kacha replied that he could look upon her only as a sister.

On one occasion Devayání, accompanied by Sarmishthá and other companions, went to the forest where there was a delightful tank. They all merrily swam and enjoyed the bath, after which Devayání had a quarrel with Sarmishthá, who threw her into a well. Fortunately, Rájá Yayáti, who had been sporting in the jungle, happened to come near the well, in which he saw a girl, at whose request he lifted her by the hand ; and after the reciprocation of civilities he left her. Yayáti's conduct made a deep impression on Devayání. Subsequently, while she was promenading in the Chitra Kuta forest with her companions, Yayáti again made his appearance, when she offered him her hand. The Rájá hesitated as he was a Kshatriya and she a Bráhman. Devayání was resolute ; she came to her father, brought him to the forest, who finding that she had made her selection, overruled the question of caste and agreed to the solemnisation of the marriage.—MAHABHARAT.

Devahutí, the daughter of Manu, was brought by her father and mother to the hermitage of Karduma on the Bindusur, washed by the Saraswatí. Rájá Manu in due form proposed his daughter to the Rishi, adding that she had after due enquiry made up her mind to be his spouse. The Rishi agreed ; but on the condition that, as soon as she became a mother, he would cease to be a householder. The marriage was celebrated : Devahutí made herself dear to Karduma by purity of thought and feeling and by affectionate words. After she became a mother, the Rishi came to take leave of her. She was powerfully affected and asked—if he left her *from whom would she receive instruction ?* She begged that he would appoint some god-knowing person to instruct her. She added that, soon after her marriage, his ideas could scarcely reach her understanding. She hoped that she now appreciated them. Her son was named Kapila, with whom she had a philosophical conversation recorded in the 3rd Book of the Srímat Bhágvata.

Umá is mentioned in the Kena Upanishad. She is called Umá Haimabatí. It is supposed that she was the personification of "Divine Knowledge," which came from Himabat where scholars used to go and live to acquire this knowledge. Umá had several names; the Kumára Sambhava of Kálidása gives an account of her birth and marriage. She was known as the "mountain maid," and had taken a strong liking to Siva. She used to retire from the company of her parents, and being sequestered in a "bosky shade," dedicated her soul to "penance and prayer," in view to her union with

Siva. On hearing of this, Siva sent a proposal to her father while she was seated with him. She blushingly consented to the proposal and " there were lotus petals in sweet maiden's guile." She is known as a model wife.

The Vedic women were dressed, we believe, much like the present Rájputnís. They had a ghágrá or petticoat, a kanchuli or corset, and a dopati or scarf. In the R. V. there is an allusion to Indráni's dress, " she has a head dress of all forms." There are several passages indicative of considerable attention having been paid to personal decoration.

In addition to domestic duties, the women had needle and other work. Weaving was very likely another occupation. One of the R. V. hymns says " the wives of the gods *wove* a hymn to India on his slaughter of Ahi." The following passage shows that the women had manual occupation. " I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother a grinder of corn."— R. V.

There was perfect equality between man and woman in the household and in society. Max Müller says that " women were listened to when they were moved by an unknown spirit," the meaning of which is not clear ; but we believe that women of elevated minds exercised considerable influence in society. The wives of the sacrificers of all classes, even of the King, cooked the meat and assisted in the preparation of the banquet. Beef which is now looked upon with horror by the Hindús, formed the chief food of the Vedic people. In the Mahávíra Charita, Vasishtha addressing Jamadagnaya says, " The heifer is ready for sacrifice and the food is cooked in ghee. Thou art a learned man, come to the house of the learned ; favour us by waiting and participating in the sacrifice."

The Uttaram Charita says :—

> " Why know you not,
> The Vedas which enshrine our holy law,
> Direct the householder shall offer those,
> Who in the law are skilled, the horned animal,
> And with it flesh of ox or calf or goat,
> And the like treatment shall the householder
> Receive from Bráhmans learned in the Vedas."

Seclusion of the females was no characteristic of the Vedic period. The R. V. Sukta iii. contains the following passage :— " Like the splendidly attired wife of a man of rank, and distinguished in assemblies like sacrificial fire." The females " used to go out adorned for festivals or mingle in the midnight foray." There were social meetings of " a learned and literary character," such we believe as the one which Gárgí attended.

The Mahávíra Charita says :—" The great sages who have been invited to the sacrifice are assembling with their wives and sons from all quarters." Again, " Janaka's brother with his two daughters

comes to the hermitage of Viswámitra on the borders of Kausila. The Rishis are come with their wives."

The Chh Upanishad contains a story which shows that the females were unrestricted in the freedom they enjoyed. Satyakáma had to declare to what family he belonged, as he was desirous of becoming a religious student. Not knowing the name of his father, he asks his mother, Jabálá, what it is. The mother replies, "I do not know my son to what family thou belongest. Much consorting (with lovers) roving or serving in my youth, I got thee. Say therefore of thyself Satyakáma son of Jabálá." That the abuse of this liberty from which the age was not free was known and deprecated appears from Sukta vii. of the R. V :—"Remove sin from me like a woman delivered in secret."

Maidens walked in processions and were not married till they were grown up, which is also confirmed by the short biographies of the females we have given in the preceding pages. Gallantry was practised by making maidens prizes for specific heroic deeds—a custom which was followed by the military class in subsequent times under the name of *Swayamvara.* There is also mention of the military class containing females.

Sahamarana or the burning of the widows with the dead bodies of their husbands was not a Vedic usage. Dr. Wilson says "we have additional and incontestible proof that the Rig-Veda does not authorise the practice of the burning of the widows." The widow of the deceased had, however, to attend with married women the funeral of her husband. She was placed with his dead body on the funeral pile, and after the performance of certain ceremonies, she was brought down and was thus addressed by the priest :—

> "Rise up O woman ! to the world of life,
> Thou sleepest beside a corpse, come down ;
> Thou hast been long enough a faithful spouse,
> To him who made thee mother to his sons."

The married females attending had then to anoint their eyes with collyrium, when they were thus addressed :—

> "The women now draw nigh with oil and butter,
> Not widows they, proud of noble husbands ;
> First to the altar, let the mother come,
> In fair attire and with no grief or tears."

There is a passage in the Taitrya Arnukna of the Yajur Veda containing the following address to the widow by the younger brother, disciple or servant of the deceased :—"Rise up woman, thou liest by the side of the lifeless, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee." This is a clear

proof of the widows marrying during the Vedic period. And that the widow "was brought down" and not allowed to be burnt is also confirmed by her collecting the bones of her late husband after a certain time.

We will now proceed to consider what social changes were made with reference to woman during the post-Vedic period.

In the codes of Manu and other sages, woman appears to have formed an important subject for legislation. A daughter is described to be the "highest object of tenderness." Bhishma expressed his opinion that a son and daughter are alike. It was held that woman should never claim independence, but be under the protection of her father, husband, and son; and if her kindred on both sides failed, it was the duty of the king to protect her, and chastise her if led away from the path of virtue. Another restriction on her liberty was that she should have nothing to do with the texts of the Vedas; this we suppose followed because it was thought proper to do away with the investiture of females, which was a necessary qualification for the study of the Vedas.

The education provided for her was evidently of a nature to fit her to join her husband in the performance of religious rites, to manage efficiently all matters connected with domestic economy, involving sanitation, cooking, finance, and hospitality to guests. This resembles very much the education of the Athenian females; who, like Hindú women, had leisure-hour occupation in spinning, weaving, &c. Although in earlier times the Athenian females paid attention to the cultivation of literature and competed for public prizes, they had not in later times much to do with "book knowledge." We believe the Hindú women had more to do with "book knowledge." Although they were not permitted to read the Vedas, Wilson says that Vyás, "reflecting that these works (Vedas) may not be accessible to women and Súdras and mixed classes, composed the Bhárata for the purpose of placing religious knowledge within their reach." Fergusson places the date of the Máhábhárat at about 1300 B.C. The estimation in which woman was held is expressed in several passages of Manu and other sages. "Women are truly pure. Women, and Goddesses of abundance, are equal. In whatever family the husband is contented with his family and the wife with the husband, in that family will fortune be abundant. The mouth of a woman is constantly pure. Where the females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but when dishonoured, then all religious rites become useless. Married women must be honoured and adored by their father and brethren, by their husbands and brethren of their husbands if they seek abundant prosperity." It is a question whether women were so unrestricted in their freedom during the post-Vedic as they were during the Vedic age. Possibly the liberty they enjoyed

during the Vedic times was in some cases carried to an excess, and attended with abuse; as is exemplified in the story of Jabálá, and in the allusions in the Vedas to "conjugal infidelity and sexual immorality." To this cause we attribute a sterner tone in the *Smritis* as to making woman *more domestic* and *religious* and *less social.* We draw this inference from what has been laid down for woman as to her piety, austerity, and devotion to the husband, or to his memory if he be dead. Though the great object was the religious and moral elevation of the female mind, we meet with abundant proofs of woman not having been debarred from society or being doomed to seclusion. Every woman was addressed "Bhavati and amiable sister." When a woman was seen, "way must be made for her. Pregnant women, brides, and damsels should have food before all other guests." Although it was held that woman should always be under some male protection, the effect of it was totally destroyed by the following liberal legislation. "By close confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure, but those women are truly secure who are guarded by their good inclinations." Manu says again—"Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at *festivals* and *jubilees.*" The woman who being forbidden—"addicts herself to liquor,—even at jubilees, or mixes in crowds at theatres," is punishable. A woman must not go forth without vesture, or move without her upper garment." Women married by the Brahma ceremony "are the purifiers of a company."

From a girl who makes advances to a man of high class, let not the king take the smallest fine; but her who first addresses a low man, let him constrain her to live in the house well guarded." "Let no man converse, after he has been forbidden, with the wives of others."

When the husband is abroad, the wife should "continue firm in religious austerities, and avoid visits to the houses of strangers, crowds and jubilees; and if she has no means, she must live by spinning and other blameless arts."

We gather from the above that the Hindú females were not secluded—they moved in society; and that there was no change in the dress. When Sítá was carried away by Rávana, she threw off her head dress. When Jayadrata seized Draupadí, he laid hold of her upper garment.

Based upon the Vedic practice the marriage was divided into eight forms:—

1.—Brahma, the gift of the daughter to the bridegroom respectfully united.

2.—Daiva, the gift of the daughter to the officiating priest.

3.—Rishi, giving a daughter on receiving a pair of kine.

4.—Prajápátya, giving away the daughter with due honour and

with the paternal benediction, "May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties."

5.—Asura, when the bridegroom marries a girl, giving wealth to her father.

6.—Gandharva, marriage of a man with a woman from mutual desire.

7.—Rákshasa, the seizure of a maiden by force.

8.—Paisácha, the union with a damsel sleeping, drunk, or disordered in her intellect.

The first six forms were intended for the sacerdotal. The last four for the military, and the fifth, sixth, and eighth for two other classes. With reference to the fifth, there are several passages condemnatory of the sale of daughters or the receipt of any gratuity for their marriage.

Although contemporaneously with priestcraft, caste was established, and was progressing when Manu legislated, yet as to the selection of a wife he says it may be made from "the basest family." We find that in the Mahábhárat, Bhishma, in one of his lectures to Yudhishthira, supports this authority by inculcating that a good wife may be selected from low castes. According to Manu a good wife should be "bright as gems;" and possess "knowledge, virtue, purity, gentle speech, and various liberal arts." This we look upon as the mark to which every respectable girl was required to come up, and which necessarily constituted her education. As for the king's wife, she "must be adorned with beauty and best qualities." With reference to the age of marriage, it could not have been while the girl was an infant, as "she must be a consenting party," and she could not be given away or accepted "against her own consent." This point has been strongly enforced by Bhishma in the Mahábhárat. He brought three girls from Benares by force. One of them declared that at the *Swayambara Sabhá* whence they had been brought, she had set her heart on Salaya, and that she could not therefore marry Bhishma's step brother. After consultation with the Rishis, Bhishma sent her back to Benares. He became so clear on the point that he impressed upon Yudhishthira that if a king captures the daughter of his enemy, and wishes to marry her, he should give her one year's time to make up her mind, and that if she did not after that period consent, she should be sent away. The bridegroom was expected to be a proper match, as it was held that a damsel though marriageable should rather remain at her father's than be married to a "bridegroom devoid of excellent qualities." If the father did not take the initiative, the damsel made the selection herself. The supreme law on the subject of marriage was, "Let mutual fidelity continue till death." The wife was required to be firmly united with the husband, and to subject to him her heart,

speech and body to entitle herself to his mansion in the next world, and to be called in this "*sadhi*" or *good and faithful.* Unless the husband were an abandoned sinner or an heretical mendicant, she could not forsake him ; while the husband was bound to maintain her if she was virtuous, "although he married not from inclination ;" and if he forsook an affectionate wife, he was punishable. The punishment which a husband could inflict on the wife, if she were not affectionate, was to forsake her for one year ; or for other faults to strike her with a rope or the small shoot of a cane. Another sage inculcated,—"Strike not even with a blossom a wife guilty of a hundred faults."

Polygamy was restricted. Unless the wife were addicted to spirituous liquor, immoral, mischievous, hateful to her husband, barren, having no male children, incurably diseased, or wasteful of his money, he could not take another wife ; and if the first wife were virtuous and diseased, her consent was necessary for his second marriage.

This law was, we believe, a dead letter. Dasaratha married three wives ; Bhishma obtained two wives for his step-brother and two wives for Pándu, and it is well known that Bhishma was learned in the Shástras and in reality a *Rajrishi.* Yudhishthira was instrumental in the marriage of Bhíma with Hirambí. Arjuna, who like Bhíshma and Yudhishthira was well versed in Shástras, had several wives. Bigamy and polygamy were practised more from choice than from any sacred rule.

Intermarriages were tolerated. The Bráhmans could marry girls of the lower classes. The Kshatriyas could marry Bráhman girls ; and if a high caste girl married a low caste man, she could not forsake him, although a Súdráni marrying a Bráhman was not received at certain sacred ceremonies. In accordance with the Vedic practice, every husband had to perform religious rites with his wife ; and if he had several of different classes he had to carry on the worship with them in rotation according to their social precedence.

Although the Rishis married widows during the Vedic times, Manu declares that *the marriage of a widow is not even named in the laws concerning marriage.* In another passage he condemns the marriage of a Bráhman with a widow, and prohibits the practice altogether. Not satisfied with this prohibition, Manu includes under the category of widows, girls betrothed and not married in consequence of the death of their betrothed husbands. The cremation of the widows with their dead husbands is not mentioned in Manu's Code. He recommends widows *to emaciate their bodies, live on flowers, roots, and fruits, not even pronounce the name of another man, avoid every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully observe those rules of virtue followed by women devoted*

to only one husband. The first mention of the burning of widows we find in Angira, one of the sage legislators who was a contemporary of Manu. He says :—

মৃতেভর্ত্তরি যা নারী সমারোহেদ্ধুতাশনং সাঽরুন্ধতী সমাচারা স্বর্গ লোকে মহীযতে।

ব্রহ্মঘ্নোবা কৃতঘ্নোবা মিত্রঘ্নোবাপি যো ভবেৎ।
তং বৈপুনাতি সা নরী ইত্যঙ্গিরসভাষিতং
সাধ্বীনামেবনারীণামাগ্নি প্রপ্রতনাদৃতে।
নান্যো ধর্ম্মেহিবিজ্ঞোযা মৃতে ভর্ত্তরি কর্হিচিৎ।

The woman who burns herself after the death of her husband, gains like Arundhati, heavenly glory. She purifies the sins of the murders of the Bráhmans, the ungrateful, and the slayers of friends. For *sádhí* women there is nothing so meritorious as cremation after the death of their husbands.

The next mention is in the Kátyana Sutra, and the age of Kátyana is about the fifth century B.C.

The Rámáyana makes no mention of the practice. In the Mahábhárat we find that one of the wives of Pándu burnt herself with his dead body and that when Krishna died, several of his wives consigned themselves to the flame with his remains. But after the great war in Kurukshetra none of the numerous royal ladies burnt herself. The account of the funeral rite of Dranáchárya leaves some doubt as to whether his wife was burnt or not. The passage is as follows :—

" Behold the scholars of Dranáchárya, after chanting the Sáma Veda, performing his funeral rites, making his wife foremost and placing her on the right side of the pyre, are bending their steps towards the Bhágirathí."

The funeral ceremonies were not like those of the Vedic times, and were somewhat modified ; but they were not devoid of the female element as joint mourners. The females appeared publicly as participators in joy and sorrow.

The articles specified for Dasaratha's funeral rites are fragrant wood, jars of clarified butter, oil, corn, a large chaplet of sweet smelling flowers, sweet ointments, perfumes, incense, lignum aloes. All the citizens with their wives and daughters and the widows of Dasaratha attended the funeral procession. The widows uttered a " cry of distress " on seeing the blazing pile," and they surrounded Bharata when he poured out libations. When Bharata afterwards came to Ráma in the forest and reported his father's death, Ráma got the pulp of ingudie and jujubes and offered funeral libation with Sítá before him on the banks of the Mandákiní. Then after the great war between the Kauravas and the

Pándavas, when Yudhishthira gave orders for the burning of the dead bodies, Susarmá and others procured aloe, sandal, scented wood, ghee, oil, scents, silk cloth, costly wood, broken *rath* and other articles, and having carefully constructed the pyres began to burn the dead bodies, while some of the mourners chanted the Rig and Sáma Vedas, and some deplored the loss of the deceased. After the cremation was over, all the mourners came to the banks of the Bhágirathí. They took off all they had on their bodies when the Kuru females burst into lamentations and with tears in their eyes offered libations to the memory of their husbands, brethren, sons, &c.

The prohibition of Manu, as to widows not being married again and leading an austere life, was evidently in force at this time.

Up to this time the cremation of the widow was rare, at least in Hustina. It must have grown out of the practice of self-immolation, recorded in the Rámáyana of Sarvarí, a female ascetic and a discipline of Matandá on the banks of the Pampá ; and it was continued subsequently, as we are informed of the burning of Calanus when Alexander was here.

The practice of the cremation of the widow, though not in existence when Ráma lived, nor in much use when Yudhishthira reigned, did not die away. In A.D. 66, Plutarch in his Morals says,—" And among the Indians, such chaste wives as are true lovers of their husbands, strive and contend with one another for the fire, and all the rest sing forth for the happiness of her, who having the victory is burnt with her deceased husband."

Manu appears to have bestowed special attention on woman. He inculcates equal care for women of different classes, *viz.*, barren, those who have daughters only, whose daughters have married other tribes who are without kindred, whose husbands are abroad, who are faithful widows, and who are afflicted with illness. Male relatives appropriating the property of women were punishable ; and capital punishment was inflicted for stealing " woman, above all." Base-born tribes sacrificing their lives for the preservation of a woman without reward, entitled themselves to celestial beatitude. As to inheritance, the married daughters get one-fourth of what the brother inherits from the father ; and an equal division of the material property, of which a married daughter gets one-fourth of her brother's allotment. Several sages enjoined " that a mother should share equally with her sons, and Vyás has made the same provision for the wives of a father by whom he has no real issue." The wife was so far free that if injured in her person or property, she could seek for redress, and the law of *coverture* did not form a part of the Hindú Code.

The *Tantras* following the *Smritis* are equally, if not more, emphatic on the subject of woman.

The Mahánirván in the 8th Wulash says:—

"The daughter should likewise be nursed, educated with care, and married with gifts of money and jewels to a learned bridegroom. A wife should never be chastised, but nursed like a mother, and if chaste and devoted, should never be forsaken under most adverse circumstances.

Oh Mahishásaní! the man who keeps his wife contented performs every virtuous act, and is beloved by all."

The ideas of Ráma with regard to women were much in their favour. When he met Bharata, after his father's death, he asked him—"Dost thou behave politely to females? Are they duly protected by thee? Dost thou not esteem their conversation? Dost thou not communicate secrets to them?" To Vibhisana he said, "Neither houses, nor vestments, nor enclosing walls, nor ceremony, nor regal insignia are the screen of a woman. It is her own virtue alone that protects her." When Yudhishthira visited Dhritaráshtra in his hermitage, one of his enquiries was—were the poor females taken care of in your kingdom and were women well received and respected in your palace?

Bhishma in the Mahábhárat has often expressed his idea of woman. He says,—"A mother does what is good in this and the next world. There is no greater treasure than a wife to the sick and suffering husband; she is his medicine, and for the acquisition of godliness there is not a better colleague. Even if the wife be unchaste and imprisoned, she is entitled to food and raiment. In reality woman has no faults. If she has, they are created by her husband. Women should never be taken away by force; and of all sins, killing women is most heinous." Bhishma was also of opinion that if a king had no son, his daughter should sit on the throne. We shall show that this was followed in many cases.

We will now proceed to give a few abstracts of legends bearing on the social state of the Hindú females, and showing to what extent Manu was followed.

The story of Damayantí is too well known to need a repetition here. She was the tried and exemplary wife of Nala. She prayed for her union with him, having enquired after, and seen him in her apartments. Her becoming *Swayambara* again was simply to make Nala, from whom she had been separated, know where she was, that he might come there and be united to her. Of the Kshatriya women some married according to the Brahma mode, and some became *Swayambara*. Aja married Indhumatí who was *Swayambara*. His son Dasaratha had the daughter of Kosala offered to him, and he married her; but his second wife Kaikeyí, whom he won, was a *Swayambara*. Janaka, King of Mithilá, made his daughter Sítá *Swayambara*.

She prayed that she should be the wife of Ráma, who bent the huge bow and was the successful competitor. The high character of Sítá as a model wife and a holy woman is well known. When she met the venerable wife of Atri and was highly complimented, she said that, although she was devoted to Ráma, and she tried her utmost to follow him, she doubted whether her soul mirrored the purity of his. When she solicited permission to accompany her husband into banishment, she said—

> "A wife must share her husband's fate,
> My duty is to follow thee
> Wherever thou goest. Apart from thee,
> I would not dwell in heaven itself.
> Thou art my king, my guide,
> My only refuge, my divinity."

After the death of Rávana, when she appeared before Ráma, and when he cast reflections on her chastity, she "dashed away her tears," brought on by the interview, and rising "from the dust at his feet," addressed Lakshmana as follows :—

"Son of Sumitrá ! In thine eyes I see pity and trust of me. Build me a funeral pyre. Brother ; since I am tainted in Ráma's sight, 'tis time I should die."

Gándhárí was a daughter of Sabala, King of Gándhára (Gandharie—about Kandahár). After the acceptance of the proposal, she was taken by her father to Hastiná, where she was married to its blind king Dhritaráshtra. Gándhárí sympathised with what was holy and good, and was firm and resolute. From pure sympathy with her husband's blindness, she used to keep herself constantly veiled. When she was sent for by her husband to express her sentiments on the apprehended war between the Kurus and the Pándavas, she thus addressed him : "Mahárój ! Tell soon our dominion-loving son that he who is the destroyer of virtue, impure and haughty, should never gain legal power. What has already taken place compromises you. Though you are aware of Duryadhana's evil motives, you are tolerating him. That reprobate is now extremely subject to lust, anger, and grief—you cannot now convert him by force, you are suffering the consequences resulting from making over the kingdom to the ignorant, wicked, and ill-associated. How can you wink at a dissension with friends? Who can think of a war if it can be got over by concesssion or peace ?" After the termination of the war, in which all her sons and grandsons had been killed, she came to the battle field with all the ladies of the family,—overpowered by grief, she had the fortitude to observe that before the commencement of the war, she prophesied that virtue was always victorious, and that neither virtue nor vice disappeared without producing effects. After Yudhishthira was installed, he delegated the government of the country to Dhritaráshtra, *Gándhárí*, and Bidura.

Kuntí was brought up by Kuntí Bhoja. While at her father's, she took a delight in entertaining guests. She became a *Swayambara*, and Pándu received her garland. When Draupadí was married to her sons, she addressed her as follows :—

"Daughter! Be thou full of esteem and love to thy husbands, as Indráni was to Indra, Swáhá to Bibhasara, Rohiní to Chandra, Damayantí to Nala, Bhadrá to Baiswánara, Arundhatí to Vasishtha and Lakshmí to Náráyan. Be thou the mother of heroes. Employ thyself with thy husband in religious service, and thy prosperity will be unlimited. Oh daughter! employ thy time in looking after the guests, visitors, the virtuous, children, and the elders. By thee the Rájás of the principal cities of Kura, Jangala, &c., will be installed."

Kuntí's next address to Draupadí was when she was about to proceed with her husbands, beggared by the game at dice, to pass twelve years in exile and one year in disguise.

Kuntí said—"Do not mourn because misfortune has overtaken thee. Thou knowest well the duties of the females. Possess good qualities, be faithful and pure in thy acts."

The sentiments expressed by her in her conversation with Krishna, when he came to negotiate for peace, show also the high culture of her mind.

"Men can exalt themselves by high character, but not by wealth or learning. To suffer is to wash away our sins. This is followed by happiness, the fruit of virtue."

When Draupadí became a *Swayambara*, it was proclaimed that whoever would bend an enormous bow and by it "shoot five arrows simultaneously through a revolving ring into a target beyond," would win her. When she was brought to the Sabhá, Dhristadumna informed her of the names of those who had been assembled. After the failure of several Princes, Karna rose, when Draupadí publicly said,—"I will not marry a carpenter's son." Arjuna rose, tried, succeeded, and won the bride. When she was taken to Kuntí, the latter inadvertently said to her sons,—"What you have acquired should be your common property." What emanated from a mother must be done. The propriety of the marriage of one woman to five men was discussed at the Drupada Rájá's palace where Kuntí was present, and took a part in the discussion. Vyás supported Kuntí, and sanctioned the proposed marriage. It appeared that during the Vedic times, the daughter of a Rishi was married to Prachata, and his nine brothers; and another woman of the Gautama line was the wife of a hundred Rishis. But these were exceptions, they are not alluded to in the Rig-Veda, and were quoted to legalise the marriage of Draupadí with the five Pándavas.

Draupadí is described as an educated lady, and according to her

own account she used to receive instruction from a Bráhman teacher, while on the lap of her father. The Bana Purva records her two conversations; one with Yudhishthira, on forgiveness and the Providence of God, in which she shows great powers of observation; and the other with Satyabhamá, wife of Krishna, who came to her while she was living in the forest with her husbands. The subject was, on the best way of making the husband attached to the wife. Draupadí said that she conducted herself humbly, serenely, and devotedly to her husband; she daily cleaned the house, utensils, cooked and offered meals at the appointed time. While at Indraprastha, she took care of Kuntí, saw numerous Bráhmans and maid-servants fed and clothed; she also looked after the servants, cowherds, and shepherds. She took care of the treasury, and gave orders on all matters connected therewith. She performed all her duties with every regard to truth, but unmindful of her personal comfort. She added, the faithful wife cannot attain happiness unless she practises self-denial. Do what I have told you, and before strangers remain quiet, but true to your convictions, avoiding excitement and thoughtlessness, and make those your friends who are virtuous and devoted to their husbands. When Jayadrata seized and carried her away, he was pursued by the Pándavas; she had then the generosity to advise him to lay down arms and implore forgiveness.

The marriage of Subadhrá, sister of Krishna, was by seizure of the maiden by Arjuna at her brother's instigation near the Raibuta mountain, where she had gone to perform certain religious ceremonies. The mind of this lady is shown in her lamentation for her son after he was killed in the battle. The lamentation was addressed to his spirit, and she prayed for its being associated with the holy and heroic in the heavenly sphere.—MAHA'BHA'RAT.

Rukminí who was to have been married to Sisupála of Chedi, was so captivated with Krishna that she sent him *a letter*, asking him to take her away on a certain day when she would come out to observe some festival.—BHA'GVATA.

The women we have alluded to, belonged to the military and rich classes. Let us see what the moral tone of the females of the humbler class was. The Adiparva contains a legend which throws some light on the subject. There was a cannibal in the city of Ekachakra, who used to appear for a human being from every family in rotation. It came to the turn of a Bráhman who had a wife and a daughter. The Bráhman was about to offer himself as a victim. The wife remonstrated and begged to supply his place. She said that if she died leaving him, she would have undying glory in the next world. But if he died, *how is the daughter to be directed to the path of the ancestors?* The daughter urged that she was prepared to go instead of her father and mother, as her life was not so valuable.

The Aswamedha Parva contains a legend illustrative of female self-denial. There was a Bráhman beggar in Kurukshetra. He had a wife, a son, and a daughter-in-law. The family starved when no alms was received. On one occasion, after a fast of several days, the Bráhman got a quantity of barley which was boiled and was about to be divided, when a hungry guest appeared. The Bráhman immediately welcomed him and gave him his share. The guest eat but was not satisfied. The wife of the Bráhman readily offered him her share. This grieved the loving husband, and he felt exceedingly pained for the starvation of the wife, who soothed him down by observing that their wealth, material and spiritual, was *united*. The guest finished the second dish, but again complained of hunger. The son gave him his share, but it did not satisfy him. The daughter-in-law then came forward with her share, when the father-in-law was again distressed, but she observed that she was bound to do what would ensure after-happiness.

The Smritis made no change in the dress of the females, which our previous quotations will show. But in regard to food, an injunction was given, of total abstinence from flesh meat, discontinuance of the slaughter of animals and of cruelty in any form to sentient beings.* This change we attribute to the excessive *beef eating* and the slaughter of animals during the Vedic period. We do not, however, see that this was attended to; as Draupadí states that Yudhishthira used to sacrifice cattle, and that he and other Rájás performed the *Aswamedha* (sacrifice of horses). The dishes of Dhristarastra even when he was about to embrace ascetism consisted of fish, meat and he had also wines of different kinds. And it appears that several ladies dined with him in the same hall. There is a passage attributed to Suvadrá which speaks well of those "who refrain from wine, flesh, liquors, excitement and lying;" and Bhishma has often dwelt on the propriety of abstaining from animal food, which entered subsequently into the creed of the Vaishnavas.

What we have shown from the Smritis, and the short accounts of certain females, clearly show that the post-Vedic females were not secluded. But as it is an important point, we will give a few legendary proofs from the Rámáyana and Mahábhárat.

When Ráma returned from banishment, the ladies of his family came out to meet him. When he was installed, Sítá was with him in the Court hall. When the Pándavas and Kurus showed their proficiency in archery, the ladies were seated in the theatre. While the Pándavas were living in the forest, Duryadhana, accompanied by his brothers, the Ránís and the members of some other

* Manu, iv. 67 and 68, v. 45 to 49 and 51, viii. 296.

families, passed by them. When Uttara and Arjuna gained a victory, the daughter of Birát and other ladies came out to receive them in a procession. The following description of Yudhishthira's entrance into the palace, after the great war, throws some light on the freedom of the females not belonging to royal families.

"When Yudhishthira, accompanied by his brothers and the ladies and others, was about to enter Hastiná, the royal road was perfumed with *dhupa*, the palace with varied fragrance sand flowers, and festooned with garlands. The gate was graced by beautiful damsels with new *kulsis* filled with water. The Rájá was surrounded by friends, and he entered the city in the midst of eulogistic chantings of the bards. The handsome buildings bordering on the royal road were quaking under the weight *of the female visitors*, who with modesty and meekness cheering the Pándavas addressed Draupadí in complimentary words, which were so enthusiastic and loud that they reverberated through the length and breadth of the city."

On the occasion of the coronation of Yudhishthira, Kuntí and Gándhárí were present in the Hall; and Draupadí sat on an elevated seat with the Rájá. When Yudhishthira performed the Aswamedha, there was a separate compartment for elderly ladies; and young damsels full of joy promenaded in the place. The Mágh in Book V. states that the Rájás who had been invited to Yudhishthira's Rájasuya Yagna were travelling with their *wives on horseback.* We do not, however, find any mention of it in the Mahábhárat; and the only inference we can draw is that if the Hindú ladies did not ride on horseback when Yudhishthira lived, they did so when the *Mágh* was written. The practice was apparently followed subsequently, which is evident from Scott Waring's testimony.

The *Puránas* show that what the Smritis inculcated with regard to woman, was substantially carried out. We have already stated that among the qualifications of a wife, Manu mentions "liberal arts." This no doubt includes music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing. There are ancient works on music; and the Mahábhárát states that Arjuna gave instruction to the females of Birát's family in music and dancing. We have already adverted to the saying of Bhishma that, where a son does not exist, the daughter should occupy the throne. Prem Deví was on the throne of Dehli before the Muhammadan invasion. In Nepál three females reigned at different times. Rájendra Lakshmí is described as a "woman of extraordinary character and talents." In Ceylon several Ránís reigned from time to time. In Rajputáná females governed as regents. Colonel Tod, speaking of the Bundi Queen says—"Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which he had many, and he could give many similar instances."

In 327 B.C., Alexander and Porus fought together. The Greek

rule in Asia lasted for 200 years. It is supposed that Alexander afterwards married a daughter of Porus.* In 307 B.C., Seleucus succeeded Alexander partially, and had his daughter married to Chandragupta. Megasthenes and Onesicrites went to him as an embassy; and the former resided for several years at Pátaliputra. This must have brought on some fusion of the Greeks and the Hindús. To the Hindús engaged in theological and philosophical enquiries, or in political and commercial pursuits, the Greek language must have been more or less known. It is supposed that before Alexander, Pythagoras came here and learnt from the Bráhmans the doctrines of metempsychosis.† Arrian and Pliny state that the Bráhmans presented to the Greek authorities lists of kings who had reigned in India. Priaulx says that "in the Northern Provinces of India the Greek language was not utterly forgotten;" and that the spread of it must have been from the Panjáb to Behar. We are also told that a Yavanu Achárya or a Yavan Jatica travelled to Ionia and wrote a work on astronomy. It is stated in the Dabistan that Callisthenes sent to his uncle a technical system of logic (náya), which was the basis of the Aristotelian system. We also observe a close affinity between Aristotle's theory of the soul as regards its organism and the Vedánta-darsana; and Plato's ideas as to the detachment of the soul from the world of sense constituting the true subjective condition bear an analogy to the Sánkhya philosophy. The Greek kings as well as the Scythians adopted a language closely allied to the Sanskrit. The inscriptions for more than two centuries during the Greek and Scythian connection invariably contain the Greek with a vernacular translation. The coins of the Sah Kings of Sauráshtra have an imperfect Greek and Sanskrit inscription, while those of the Guptas (2nd to 4th century A.D.) have an emblem of the Greek and Páli, showing the gradual disappearance of the Greek from the Indian coins. The Greeks adopted the Indian symbol of Swastika, which the pottery from Kamiras and the prototype of Crete show. The Scythian coins exhibit Greek and Hindú divinities, and those under the Yuchis have an image of Siva and the Nundi Bull. The affinity between the Greeks and the Hindús was so great as regards the languages, literature and religion, that the process of giving and receiving must have been reciprocal. Váráha Mihira in his Brihat Sanhitá (astronomy) says,—"The Greeks indeed are foreigners, but with them this science is in a flourishing state." We find that the later Greek physicians availed themselves of the Hindú medical works.

The intercourse appears to have been kept up. Hindú ambassadors were sent to Augustus Cæsar, to whom a Porus

* Madras Journal of Science and Literature, vol. xvi.

† Grote says that this doctrine taught by Pythagoras had its origin "in the Egyptian and Oriental religions."

wrote a letter in Greek. In the 2nd century A.D., there were Greek and Roman agents in the eighty-four ports of Balhara.

This fusion did not at all affect the freedom of the females. In the Mudrá Rákshasa, Chandragupta says :—

"Why are not all the citizens with their wives abroad and merry making?"

The following passage shows the commingling of the races.

"The Khasa troops and men of Magadha and my attendants are the vanguard. The Yavana and Gándhára forces march in the centre and the Huna cohorts.

"The troops, Chedi, Kiras and Jallas form the rear."

The Yavana means the Ionian or the Asiatic Greek, and the Sakas the Asiatic Scythians.

It was customary with the Hindú Rájás to have female attendants as sanctioned by Manu ; and this custom the Muhammadans afterwards imitated. One of the Nátaks mentions a *Yavana* female attendant, which shows that the Greek females were employed by the Hindús. The Greek accounts of the Hindú females are meagre. They bear testimony to their chastity, and to the fact of no money being given or taken in marriage. As to the Germanes or Sarnames (the Buddhists?) they permitted women "to share in their meditations, but on condition of strict chastity." According to Apollonius of Tyana the Bráhman country lay between the Hyphasis and Ganges. He says,—"From the trees on its (Hyphasis's) banks, the people obtain an unguent with which marriage-guests besprinkle the bride and bridegroom, and without which no marriage is considered complete or pleasing to Venus." Another account of India written at the close of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century A.D., by desire of Palladius, says,—"They" (Bráhmans) "were not like a society like our monks, but a race, born Bráhmans. They lived near the Ganges and in a state of nature. They had no domestic animals, tilled no land, and were without iron or house or fire or bread or wine. They worshipped God ; and had no slight, but not a thorough, knowledge of the ways of Providence. Their wives were located on the other side of the Ganges; they visited during July and August, the coolest months, and remained with them forty days. But as soon as the wife had borne two children, or after five years if she were barren, the Bráhman ceased to have intercourse with her."

Buddhism, which had assumed a distinct form in the middle of the third century B.C., became powerful during the Greek connexion with India. Hindú women embracing Buddhism became prominent. They not only began to frequent places of public worship, but came forward to join the clerical body and were admitted as nuns. Maha Prajápatí was the first female admitted to the order. The daughter of Asoka, Sanghamitta, also entered the church, taking the usual vow of celibacy. She went to Ceylon

to ordain the princess in compliance with the request of her brother Mahendra, who had been sent there to propagate the religion, he being of opinion that a male priest could not ordain a female. Gautama had five hundred females admitted into the order. The nuns were, however, restricted in their liberty in holding communication with male priests. Females of rank such as Mahá Máyá, the mother of Gautama and Misáka, were moving "freely in society;" while other classes of females not only moved from place to place but carried on discussions with men and took part in secessions. There are several notices of educated females. Visákhá, a most celebrated Buddhist lady, resided in Sakita or Ayodhyá. In the Dulva it is stated that a celebrated Bráhman of Nalada had a daughter named Shariká. "She was instructed in letters and overcame her brother in a dispute." Dugamá, a young girl of Champá, was married to the son of a chief officer in Kosala. She is described as the "model of everything modest, prudent, wise, frugal, and in every respect accomplished." She received her education from her mother. Her father-in-law addressed her as follows:—"Your mother has been wise in having given you such enigmatical instruction, but you are more than she in having understood and practised her enigmatical advice."

Buddha's opinion as to females leading the religious life was —"Be careful; do not permit females to enter upon my law and become Samarans." He said "what is named woman is sin," *i.e.*, that she is not vice but sin; and "it is better for a priest to embrace the flame than to approach a woman, however exalted her rank." Mendicants and novices were not permitted to look at a woman. Priests were not allowed to visit widows, grown-up virgins, or women whose husbands were abroad. If a woman had a fall and required to be lifted up by the hand, no Buddha would help her, because it was considered sinful to touch a woman, whether she lived or died. The Patimokhan forbids not only "the contact with the person of a woman," but "impure conversation with a woman," sitting on the same seat with her, reclining with her on the same place, being alone with a woman, accompanying her on a journey, and preaching more than five or six sentences to a woman except in the presence of a man who understood what was said. And yet according to Hinan, Buddha accepted the invitation of Ambasali, the celebrated courtesan of Vaisali, "who took her seat on one side of him."

Buddha inculcated celibacy as a great virtue; but if a man could not continue as a celibate and took a wife, he committed no sin. Polygamy was denounced by Buddha: but he had "inferior wives numbered by thousands." The following story will show how marriages were brought about.

Singhavi, King of Kasila, wished to have his son of sixteen years married, and was in search of a girl "of the most kingly

descent, endowed with the sixty-four marks of perfection and the five great beauties perfect in maidens, and stedfast in observing the five and the eight commandments." While Máyá was promenading in her garden, eight Bráhmans came to her and made the proposal, giving a full description of the prince—to which she listened, and half consenting requested them to see her father and arrange with him.

We also find that when Vijaya, King of Ceylon, sent a message to King Panderwoo to send his daughter as his queen, the request was complied with, and she "embarked, accompanied by seven hundred daughters of the nobility." In the interesting work of Schlagentweit, he says,—"Women are also allowed to embrace the monastic life, and we read of female mendicants, the *Bhiskshunes*, who have devoted themselves already in the earliest youth of Buddhism with the permission of the founder of the faith." Gerald was told "that it was mostly the ugliest women, who having little chance of getting husbands, retire to convents."

The Buddhist females were clad in robes. The King of Kosala presented to each of his five hundred wives "a splendid robe." The Bhilsa monument shows the Buddhist female drapery—"along flowing vest resembling that which we see in Grecian sculpture."

Knox, speaking of the maids, says that they were "dressed up finely." It appears that in the hall where the *bana* was read, ordinary females were kept occupied. Some brought the cotton-pod, others cleaned it, and some prepared it. Buddhism like Vedism commenced without priests and without the distinction of caste. The organization of the priesthood is supposed to have commenced at the first convocation, and reached the culminating point at the third. The priests were not allowed to marry; and though restricted in their communication with females, it appears from one of the Nepál Bauddha tracts that while praying they were not unmindful of the females. In the address to the spirits of heaven and goblins damned, the following words occur:—"Let all hearing my invocation, approach with their wives and children and associates." Fa Hian, who came here in A.D. 399, says that "the females were kept down and ordered to follow certain precepts." He cites the instance of brothers marrying non-uterine sisters in the case of the sons of one of the Kings of Potala settled near the hermitage of Kapila. As to caste, he says that although the principle in the selection of the chief of religion was the moral merit, inasmuch as Sákya was a Kshatriya, and his successor a Vaisya, and his successor a Súdra, yet the son of the King of Kapila by the daughter of a slave was not admitted into the church. When he entered, the cry was—"The son of a slave dares to enter and be seated here!"

Hiunan-Thoang, who came here subsequently, speaks of a female

kingdom on the north of Brahmaputur. It is also alluded to in the Puránas and Poems, and is traced to Assam and Bhutan.

The Jains are by no means inferior to the Buddhists in the immensity of their literature—which has been brought to notice by Colonel Tod. They had also nuns who lived by themselves. In the Kalpa sútrá, Sítá is named "among the faithful wives." There are strict rules as to the association of the females with the males. In the Nava Tatva, among the things to be patiently borne is "the absence of female society;" and the Ascetics are not to touch woman. In this respect the Jains were evidently like the Buddhists but unlike the Bráhmans.

The only Jain female prominently mentioned is Sawalinga, daughter of Padma, an opulent merchant of Paitham (Tagara) on the Godávarí. She had been sought for by a person, and her father had agreed to the proposal. But when he came, the girl who had been associated with Sadivaeh *as pupils of the same tutor*, and for whom her feeling had ripened into affection, made arrangements for eloping with him. At the appointed place and time the lover unfortunately fell into a deep sleep, and the girl not wishing to wait any longer wrote her name on the palm of his hand and went away.

In the drawings of the excavated temples of Ajantá "there are groups of women in various attitudes, particularly in the one of performing tapasyá or religion on the Asan Siddha;" and also "of a female worshipper of Buddha" surrounded by a group, and a Bráhman among them whom she is teaching.

The duration of the Muhammadan administration in India was from A.D. 1176 to A.D. 1761. During this period of 595 years the fusion of the Muhammadans and Hindús was marked. We find that in the early part of the Muselm rule, the Muhammadans were indebted to the Hindús for instruction in agriculture, manufacture, revenue management, and medicine. The language then in use was the *Hindúi*; and until the Hindús held important appointments under the government of Akbar, the cultivation of the Persian by the Hindús was limited. But from that period it progressed; the numerical strength of the Hindú Persian scholars and of their Persian works increased; and it is the Hindús who had the principal share in the creation of the Hindi or Hindustání.

The marriage of Hindú women by Muhammadan Emperors commenced with the father of Firúzsháh, whose mother Naila was the daughter of Rájá Malla Bhatti.

Howell states that when the Hindú Rájás submitted to Tamerlane, "it was stipulated that the Emperors should marry a daughter of Jet Singh's house, and that the head of the house should be Governor of Bengal."

The practice of the Muhammadan Emperors marrying Hindú

women, as a matter of policy calculated to preserve a good understanding, began with Akbar.

Jodh Báí was his wife, and she was the mother of Jahángír.

In A.D. 1320, the Hindú influence was predominant. Khausrú took to wife Dewal Deví, the widow of the late Emperor Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak. He was so much *Hindufied* that the Kuráns were "used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols."

During the administration of Akbar, the Hindú influence was also predominant. The Emperor had private meetings with the Bráhmans at night. One of them taught him, and another related the mythological tales of the Hindús. The facetious Bírbal, another Bráhman, took so much possession of the Emperor's mind, that he prevailed upon him to prohibit the eating of beef and order prayers from Hindú works to be twice offered to the sun. Abulfazl was charged with the duty of maintaining the sacred fire day and night; and took a part in the *homa* performed by the Hindú ladies of the palace. The marriage of Salím (Jahángír) with the daughter of Bhagaván Dás was performed at the Rájá's house and in the presence of the Emperor, according to the Hindú form. Orders were given restricting every Hindú to one wife unless she proved faithless. Widows were permitted to marry, and such as were young were not permitted to be burnt. But this order was subsequently modified to this effect, that if the burning were voluntary and not compulsory, it should be allowed. No Hindú female was allowed to change her religion, if the cause were that she was in love with a Muhammadan.

There were several other Emperors who had Hindú wives, but this intermarriage was one-sided, as no respectable Hindú married or was permitted to marry a Muhammadan girl. Jahángír had a strong opinion on the subject. He said—"Marrying a Hindú girl is not so bad, but to give one's daughter to a Hindú! Lord protect us against the machination of the evil one." The Muhammadan influence on the conversion of the Hindús was successful, and several of the converts were the founders of dynasties in some parts of India. After Akbar, Dara Shikoh encouraged the Sanskrit literature, and had some of the Upanishads translated into Persian.

The burning of the Hindú widow under the Muhammadan Emperors was evidently on the increase.

When Mán Singh died, in the reign of Jahángír, sixty of his 1,500 wives were reported to have burnt themselves.

There are some Muhammadan women deserving of notice.

In A.D. 1235, Sultáná Raziáh, the eldest daughter of Altamsh, reigned. She "possessed many talents and great virtues." In 1265, Muhammad II. had only one queen, who was employed in performing "every homely part of housewifery." In A.D. 1611,

Núr Mahal or Núr Jahán cut a conspicuous figure as the queen of Jahángír. She exercised considerable influence on state affairs, as well as on matters connected with her sex for a period of twenty years. To her is attributed improvements in female drapery and the preparation of the atta of roses. Her extempore verses used to captivate her husband. In his military exploits she acted as his guardian angel, and herself showed uncommon heroism Jahángír in his Memoirs says, "There is scarcely a city in which the Princess has not left some structure, some spacious garden, as a splendid monument of her taste and magnificence."

In A.D. 1628, the three daughters of Sháh Jáhan made themselves conspicuous. The eldest, Jahánara, exercised great influence on the father. She was "lively, generous and open." The second, Roshanrai Begam, was "acute, artful, and intriguing." The third, Suriá Baner, was distinguished for gentleness and serenity. The eldest daughter mediated on behalf of the Persians when they fought with Aurangzebe, and appeared publicly on the occasion.

Mamullah, the widow of Zar Muhammad Khán, the Nawáb of Bhopál, who lived in A.D. 1778, was respected by both Hindús and Musalmáns. She possessed a judgment which after severe trials was found to be sound, and a heart for which she was called the "lady mother."

In later times Begam Sumbro lived. By her marriage with an European she was *Anglicised*: she was an able and good woman. Lord W. Bentinck's letter to her bears strong testimony to her high character. She is called "the solace of the orphan and widow."

Besides the above we find a host of Muhammadan poetesses, an account of whom is to be found in the *Nakshá-i-Dilkhushá* by Bábu Janmejaya Mitra, father of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra.

We subjoin a list of the following poetesses who lived at different times and contributed to the Urdu poetical literature: Atab Begam, Behúr and Roshiní Ján of Lukhnou; Bhangan of Pánipat; Begam Ján, the daughter of Nawáb Karuddín Khán; Began, daughter of Mirzá Bábar, belonged to the zanáná of Bahádur Sháh of Dehli; Beni Ján of Benares; Begam, daughter of Nawáb Intizamad Dowla and wife of Asafridaula of Oudh; Begam, daughter of Arnadul Mulk Ghází-uddín Khán, Mutitabale of Barelí; Beranija of Dehli; and Nurjeban Mirasin of Farakábád.

We will now offer a few remarks on the state of female society during the *Greek connexion, the prevalence of Buddhism, and the Muhammadan administration in India.*

We have stated that the age of Vikramáditya was a great age for the encouragement of learning. The wife of Kálidása is said to have had much influence in causing him to become a

deep scholar. The Ráni of Karnat was also a learned lady, and she used to converse with Pandits on different subjects. About this time we believe another lady lived, *viz.*, Khoná, who was acquainted with astronomy, and is well known by the *bachans* she has left behind. We believe from this time the rage for *Swayambara* marriage subsided, and the love of heroism was altered into a love of letters. It became a custom with many females not to marry any one unless he was found more learned than herself.

We have already said that a large portion of the Poems and plays appeared in the early part of the Christian era. In these, women have been, to quote the words of Dr. Wilson, "invariably described as amiable, high principled, modest, gentle, accomplished, and intelligent," and as "exercising a very important influence upon men and as treated by them with tenderness and respect. Dr. Wilson sums up by concluding that "in no nation of antiquity were women held in so much esteem as amongthe Hindús."

The "Toycart" in alluding to female education says—

"Nature is woman's teacher, and she learns more sense than man—the pedant gleans from books."

The Dasa Kumár Charita is a portraiture of Hindú Society anterior to the Muhammadan conquest. The youth of both sexes of the royal and military classes could then form matrimonial connexions by the Gandharva form—the *Swayambara* system having apparently died away; but from Padmávatí's letter to Prithviráj it does not appear that the practice of the seizure of the bride at her request was extinct. She wrote him to take her away as Krishna had taken away Rukmini.

Padmávatí is described as knowing "sixty-four arts" and "fourteen sciences."

Bhavabhuti lived in the 8th century A.D. His patron was Yasovarenaan of Kashmír. About this period the Hindú manners were unchanged in some respects. Females of influence appeared in public, and enjóyed liberty at home.

The Dowager Queen of Kashmír requested Sámadeva to compose Katha Sarit Ságara, about A.D. 1088. In one of the tales it is stated, that "when the married couple return to Kusambi, the young bride persuades her husband to throw open the doors of the inner apartment and allow free access to his friends and associates, observing that 'the honour of women is protected by their own principles; and when they are corrupt all precautions are vain.'" We learn also from the same work, that "Katyana Vararuchi was able to repeat to her mother an entire play after hearing it once at the theatre." Although the story is given in the work referred to, yet as we have already stated Katyana lived about the fifth century, B.C.; and these scattered notices

serve to show the continuity of the female culture. In the Brihat Kathá it is stated that Vásabadattá disapproved of the selection of her husband by her father, and eloped with Udyana. When the Malavika Agnimitra appeared subsequently, there was a degeneration in the Hindú manners; yet the drama speaks of a queen being appointed to arbitrate as to the pre-eminence of two Pandits, one of whom had a female scholar who was also a songstress.

We have observed that there is mention of the Puranas and even of the Bhárata or Mahábhárata in the Sútras of Asvalâyana; but we doubt much whether the existing Mahábhárata in its integrity is the work referred to. Neither the Rámáyana nor the titles of any of the other Puránas are alluded to in the Vedas. But there are still grounds for thinking that the Rámáyana was anterior to the Mahábhárata. With regard to the other Puránas, they were apparently written to counteract the effects of Buddhism, to uphold the leading teachings of the Vedas and *darsanas*, and to supply a *finite* God to the popular mind. The Vedic gods were laid aside. The infinite God of the Upanishads was much too lofty. Vishnu was the God of the Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Sríbhágvata, Nárada, Brahma Vaivartta, Baráha Bámana and Garura Puránas. The Váyu, Agni, Bhavishya, Linga, Scandha, Kurma, Matsya and Brahmanda took Siva as the God. Not satisfied with the Male God, the Márkanda established Durgá or Kálí as the great Female Power. This must have led to the multiplication of the Tantras inculcating the worship of the Sakti during the Muhammadan invasion. While the Tantrical practices were attended with abuse, they contributed to the elevation of the females as embodying the *Sakti* principle in the estimation of men.

The Vishnu Purána speaking of the qualifications of a wife, says:—"The girl must not be vicious or unhealthy, or one who has been *ill brought up*." Of the queen Saiva, the wife of Satadhana, it says she was a "woman of great virtue; she was devoted to her husband, benevolent, sincere, pure, adorned with every female excellence, with humility and discretion. The Rájá and his wife daily worshipped the God of Gods, Janárdana, with pious meditations, oblations to fire, prayers, gifts, fasting and every mark of entire faith and exclusive devotion." The same Purána states that Saubári, a Rishi, came to Mandhatri of the military class, and begged him to give one of his daughters to him in marriage. The Rájá looked at his emaciated figure and replied—"Grave Sir! it is the established usage of our house to wed our daughters to such persons only as they shall themselves select from suitors of fitting rank." The Rishi was afterwards admitted into the inner apartments, and won the affection of the princesses.

These extracts show that when the Vishnu Purána was

written, female culture, female association, and female liberty were appreciated. The custom of the females coming out to receive kings was also in vogue. It is stated that Saiva, the wife of Jyamagha, "came to the palace gate, attended by the ministers, the courtiers and citizens, to welcome that victorious monarch."

The Srímat Bhágvata contains the following remarks with reference to the duties of the females.

"Oh Rájá! I will now dwell on the duties of the females. Patibrata devoted women should in every way make their husbands comfortable, be obedient to them, follow them in all they do, and serve their friends—a good wife observing these rules, and being well dressed, should clean, wash, embellish, and perfume the houses, and being moderate in her desire, affable, governing herself well, speaking truth agreeably and lovingly serve her husband. She should always keep the utensils clean. She should be content with what is gained, should never covet beyond her wants, should always be diligent, virtuous, should always speak the truth agreeably, be careful, and being always pure and serene will esteem and love her husband if free from sins."

We have already spoken of Sankaráchárya, who flourished before the Muhammadan invasion. He founded the Gosawees sect, who admitted females into their community on the condition that they were not to marry. When Sankara lived, the cultivation of letters had commenced in the Deccan. In the Sankara Bijaya (8th Swarga) there is an account of his having had a controversy with Mandana Misri, whose wife Lilávatí acted as the arbitress. There was another Lilávatí, the daughter of Bhaskaráchárya, who died unmarried, leaving two works, *viz.*, Pati and Bij Lilávatí. Contemporaneous with Sankara were the four Tamil sisters, Avyar, Uppay, Valhe, and Uravay. The first sister died a virgin, much admired for "her talents in poetry and science." She knew chemistry; and wrote on ethics, on which subject the second sister also wrote. The two other sisters employed their pens on various subjects.

The diffusion of the Puránic and Tantric literature was not without effects. During the Muhammadan administration the contagion of founding sects was so widespread that *domes*, sweepers, and butchers proclaimed themselves as the heads of religious denominations. Rámánand was the first to admit low caste people as his disciples—of whom one was Rái Dás, a *chamár* or worker in hides and leather. The Ráni of Chetori Jhali was a follower of Rái Dás, on which the Bráhmans looked with horror, but Rái Dás conciliated them by having them fed at an entertainment. Chaitanya who flourished afterwards (in the 16th century A.D., in Bengal) was an anti-caste reformer to the backbone. He not

only admitted *low caste* people, but also Muhammadans as his disciples. On the female mind his teachings had a powerful influence; and he had both male and female disciples living within the same enclosure and looking upon each other as brothers and sisters. When a female is moved, her voice is "the voice potential"—the circle within which it is felt, goes on widening itself. Such was the case with Chaitanya's female disciples, whose influence extended itself beyond the precincts of the enclosure, edifying and ennobling many a sister mind in distant circles.

The Vaishnava sect presents us with two memorable females who were distinguished for piety and love of letters. Mirá Báí was the wife of Lakha Ráná of Udayapur; she lived in the reign of Akbar. There was a difference between her and her mother-in-law on some religious matters. She therefore separated from her husband and led a religious life. She left the effusions of her piety in the poems and odes which constitute the ritual of the theistic sects, especially those of Nának and Kuber. Colonel Tod says,—"The productions of her muse are said to have been unequalled by any of the bards of the day, and it is asserted that a *tika* or sequel to the Gíta Govinda or Canticles in honour of Rámá will stand comparison with the original by Jayadeva." Charandas was a native of Dehli when the second Alamgír reigned, in A.D. 1754. He was the founder of a Vaishnava sect. "The first disciple of Charandas was his own sister Sahají Báí,—she succeeded to her brother's authority as well as learning, having written the Sahas Prakas and Sala Nirmaya; they have left many Sabdas and Kabits."

The female characters we have depicted show intellectual, moral, and religious culture, irrespective of considerations as to creed. The class of the Hindú females who appeared from the sixteenth century and downwards, while fully equal to their sisters of the preceding ages in strong attachment to religion and fearlessness of death, outshone them in fortitude of a different phase, and placed themselves on a par with the Greek and Roman women. The females we allude to are those of the Rájputs descended from the Yadas, to which race Krishna belonged. "The Rájput," says Tod, "claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments of chivalry." And the maternal precept is, "Make thy mother's milk resplendent." When Delhi was invaded by the Sultán of Ghazní, the Chohan Emperor sees his wife who thus addresses him: "Who asks women for advice? the world deems their understanding shallow; even when truth issues from their lips, none listens thereto. Yet what is the world without woman? The men of wisdom, the astrologer, can from the books calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant, and this is not

a saying of to-day, it ever has been so; our book has not been marked, therefore to hide their ignorance they say in woman there is no wisdom. Yet woman shares your joys and sorrows; even when you depart for the mansion of the sun, we part not." The Chohan felt the force of her inspiration. He marched in "battle array" leaving her to head "Dehli's heroes." She, however, made up her mind to lose him, and lived on only water, saying—"I shall see him again in the region of Súrya, but never more in Jognipur" (Dehli). Her lord fought and fell, and she "mounted the funeral pyre."

When Cholan was on the throne of Delhi, Dewaldí roused her sons to battle, and observing their unwillingness she said—"Would that the gods had made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the name of the Rájputs, and refuse to succour their prince in danger."—They acceded to her request; she then said, "Farewell, my children, be true to your salt, and should you lose your head for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." When Akbar invaded Chitor, the mother of Putta of Kailwa charged her son to put on the saffron robe and die for his country.

The Rahtor Jeswant had to fight a fierce battle with Aurangzebe on behalf of his brothers. Not being able to sustain the brunt of the battle any longer, the Mahárájá retreated. His wife, a daughter of the Ráná of Udayapur, would not receive him as she thought "that he should have been victorious or died on the field, and therefore she shut the gates of the castle." The Bundi Queen, like a Spartan mother, rejoiced "at the heroic death of her son." Instances are not wanting of the Rájput females having fought nobly and shown uncommon courage when placed in difficulties. There are some who professed literary attainments, diplomatic powers, and a *strong sense of honour* even at the sacrifice of life. There are some who looked upon proposals of marriage from the Muhammadan Emperors with abhorrence. All these females, as a class, showed in the habitual practice of fortitude a high discipline of the mind.

Under the British administration, Holwell, who wrote in 1765, and was a witness of several satís, observes as follows:—"If we view these women in a just light, we shall think more candidly of them and confess they act upon heroic as well as rational and pious principles. We must consider them as a race of females trained from their infancy in the full conviction of their celestial rank. They are nursed and instructed in the firm faith."

Without wishing to crowd these pages with notices of the Hindú women distinguished for high culture or private and public virtues, who appeared from time to time during the British administration, we will confine ourselves to giving a short account

of a Mahrattá lady who was universally loved and admired by both Hindús and Musalmáns. We allude to Ahalyá Báí, the widow of Malhár Ráo, who lived in A.D. 1754. She had a son who was a foolish boy, and she wept openly for his follies. He died, however, at an early age. She possessed a daughter who became a widow; and as the latter had lost also her only son, she was sick of this life and resolute in burning herself as a satí. The remonstrances of Ahalyá were of no avail, and she had to witness the painful scene. She assumed the government of the country, and sat in *open darbár* at the age of thirty. She was remarkable for her patience and unwearied attention, in the consideration of all measures affecting the welfare of the country. She respected private rights sacredly, listened to every complaint personally, and studying the interests of all classes, she was a great advocate for *moderate assessment*, and rejoiced at the prosperity of her subjects. In the morning she was engaged in prayer, hearing *sacred works* read, performing ceremonies and giving alms. She lived on vegetable food. After breakfast, clad in white clothes as a widow, and having no ornament except a small necklace, she sat in open darbár from about 2 to 6 P.M.; after which she devoted two or three hours to religious discipline. The books she was fond of reading were the *Purânas*, from which she drew chiefly food for her mind. The life of self-abnegation she led, imparted to her thoughts and acts a *deep tinge of religion*. In the performance of her daily duties, as the highest authority of the land, she "deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power;" and whenever any severe measure was proposed, she said, "Let us mortals beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty." She considered herself "a weak, sinful woman." She loved truth and hated adulation. When a Bráhman submitted to her a work written by him and full of her praises, she ordered it to be thrown into the Narbadá. She was judicious in the selection of her agents. She was not only successful in the internal administration, but possessed great diplomatic powers by which the country enjoyed tranquillity as long as she governed; and she reigned for thirty years. She built numerous temples, holy edifices, dharmsálás, forts, wells, and a road over the Vindhya Range. She was not only humane to *man*, but also to the brute creation. The oxen ploughing the fields were refreshed with water, the birds and fish also partook of her compassion. Malcolm says: "In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears within her limited sphere to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed; and she affords a striking example of the practical benefit a mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator." To

the philosophic mind the life of this exemplary woman must be a subject for deep reflection.

The foregoing pages will show the different phases of the Hindú female mind; and that the high cultivation at which it had arrived was owing to the development of the spiritual element, the effects of which are traceable in a vivid conviction of the Divine Power, the immortality of the soul, the punishment in its transmigrations, and the reward in the perpetual spiritual felicity. It is this vivid conviction that led to the systematic performance of the religious and moral duties as laid down in the Vedas, Smritis, and Puránas. The precepts of the *sástras* may be right or wrong; but it is evident that they were powerful in their influence on the female mind, and instrumental in the continued formation of exemplary female characters, accounts of which have been transmitted to generation after generation, and looked upon as the embodied essence of religion. Though the cultivation of letters has been kept up and continued by the Hindú females, their instruction has been *less* through books, and *more* from tradition, the precepts of the *sástras*, and the influence of the domestic and social circles. The Vedic and Puránic ceremonies which they perform, may not be reconciled with reason, but they rouse them to think earnestly of the Divine Power, the immortality of the soul, and of its happiness in the next world. To this cause we attribute the fact that many females in respectable families, unacquainted with reading and writing, possess notwithstanding an ardent love for religion, a strong desire to secure celestial bliss by the performance of good acts according to the light they have, a ready moral perception, and an ability to discharge domestic and social duties. Thus rocked and cradled spiritually, the Hindú females will readily receive what may be addressed to their soul—what may lead to its expansion and development. The dry deductive education may bear little or no fruit. The emotional and spiritual processes, the one having reference to moral duties, and the other to God and his infinite and wonderful providence, are sure to succeed. Any artificial system of instruction calculated to *externalise* the mind can do but little good. The field for the exercise of sound judgment as to the means and *modus operandi* for the attainment of a right system of female education is wide; and we require thoughtful and practical labourers to sow and reap.

ART. III.—THE POETRY OF ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE.

IT would seem to be an idle or a most ambitious task to try to regard from any new point of view the well-known phenomena of Anglo-Indian life; for what feature of it has not long ago been painted in every light? And how have the pictures fared? Where are all the journals and letters and memoirs to which India has given such frequent birth? To what limbo are gone the second-rate Indian novels and third-rate magazines which have struggled from time to time into ephemeral life? And yet how few there are in England even of those whose nearest and dearest are passing their lives in India, who are able to realise in any way the life of their brothers and sisters? How far fewer still who would ever turn for the theme of poetry or romance to a life which is proverbial for monotony and ennui, and every phase of which is hackneyed as the blue-books which chronicle its official routine.

Indian poets have indeed sung centuries ago songs as sweet as those of our own land, the natural growth of the soil; but who was ever inspired to sing by the daily course of that dullest of lives, the life of the Anglo-Indian?

All the world we know is a stage; but in the dazzling scenes before the footlights the bye-play which goes on in this Eastern background is lost sight of, till the very actors often cast off their stage manner and play their own serious games unheeded. And yet how vast a theatre it is in itself! On what a scale is the drama played! On what a rich and varied scene does the curtain rise which reveals this Empire of a hundred years, whose provinces are kingdoms and whose "hills" the loftiest mountains in the world!—an Empire of which none yet dare say whether it is founded on a rock, or is a house of cards which a breath from without or even from within may suddenly lay low! How much of poetry is buried here in this land of strange contradictions, where the highest culture of modern Europe is side by side with the primitive forms of the most ancient civilisations: where strong men turn dotards and delicate women fade away and die, yet where heroes and heroines are made and brought to light; where birds never sing and insects live only to torment, yet where plumage is most brilliant and nature most lavish in form and colour; where men hate each other in the maddening heat, yet where both in men and women self-devotion reaches its climax: a land whose life is at once the dullest and the most romantic, the most mysterious and the most common place, most fettered by the routine

of ages and most the prey of violent and surprising change! Is there no grandeur in the physical scenery of an Empire which reaches from Thibet to Ceylon and from the forests of Sind to the borders of Siam and China? Is there no romance in the history of a thousand families in a country "which is sending forth continually its flowers and blossoms to a clime so remote as that of India, with heart-rending separations and farewells never to be repeated?" Is there not a pathos wide as humanity in this exile which is never made a home, yet where are formed and ripen deepest and truest friendships? And is there not poetry to be read in the phenomena of an overmastering climate; in the surroundings of an artificial life which is neither of East nor West; in the effects of that life on individual and national character? Dull and monotonous our life in India may be; but to those who love to watch the beauty and symmetry of things, it is a life penetrated through and through with the richest colours of poetry, and exalted above happier forms of being by its intense and touching reality.

Let us glance first over the stage on which the scenes, tragic, comic, or burlesque, of this real and unparalleled life are enacted. Spread out before us is a scenery unrivalled in beauty and variety, of city and forest, of river and mountain and plain. The eye ranges over a succession of provinces each with its own associations of history and attractions of sport, its individual climate and peculiar race, an Empire in itself; and succeeding each other in endless novelty we discern the features and costumes, the fabrics and architecture of many nations, the pageantry of many creeds, the foliage of many climates. What wealth of scenery is embraced in the green levels of Bengal, with its pomp of stately rivers and belts of primeval jungle; in the dry plains of the North-West; in the magnificent hunting-grounds of Berar and the Central Provinces; in the Panjáb with its alternate withering heat and piercing cold; in the lovely hills and valleys of Southern India! And what shall we say of Burmah, that beautiful offshoot of the Indian Empire, severed from the rest by every barrier, physical, ethnic, social and religious, like one of its own rare orchids growing green and vigorous on the gigantic teak which overshadows it? A land of streams and hills, of silks and flowers, of monasteries and pagodas, fringed by a sea sown thick with wooded islands, the dream of a boy's first fancy. A free and simple social system binds together a people in whose character are blended endurance and indolence, chivalry and ferocity, the very pith of humour and open-handed generosity: whose women are endowed with the most delicate feminine graces in gentle modesty, in tact and taste, in soft smile and sweet expression; and whose religious faith is the perfection of

purity by which alone it has resisted the corruptions of centuries, and still bids defiance to all aggressors. It is no wonder that men tell here of an unknown charm which fascinates like that fabled land "in which it seemed always afternoon."

Turn then to the cities which stud the Empire from end to end. Here, where forests of ships bespeak the great markets of the Eastern world, rise our own fair cities like pale exotics by the side of the flowers of the soil. Calcutta stately and shabby, like the paste-board city of the stage; Bombay gabled and many-storied, the Chester of India; and Madras with would-be palaces in would-be parks, ghosts of the parks and palaces of England. And there are Agra and Benares, models of Oriental beauty, in graceful form and finished design; and city after city rich in memories of war or philosophy, learning or religion, centres of a history reaching back to a legendary past.

But if the cities of India are fair, who has ever seen and forgotten the scenery of her hills? Let those who would know what India can boast, visit in some bright October the heights of Darjíling in the Himálayas, where English cottages are embosomed in hills clothed with rarest beauties of fern and shrub; where the air is bright with butterflies the most gorgeously painted in the world, and with every most exquisite form of insect life, and where in the everlasting snows the eye rests upon a spectacle to which the whole range of the Alps can afford no rival. Not all the fantastic dreams of Martin or the glowing colours of Turner could exaggerate the wonders of that ever-changing scene, as displayed again and again in eternal freshness, when the morning is young and the face of nature clear and still, and the stupendous height and defiant outline combine with the purity of virgin snow and the melting colours of the nearer ranges to inspire a sense at once of Titanic power and unearthly beauty—like pictures of angels' faces, uniting the calm unconscious strength of perfect manhood with the most delicate loveliness of form and the most feminine sweetness of expression: or when the afternoon is yielding to evening and the slopes lie folded one upon another, as they lie about the northern end of the Lake of Como, greener than emeralds and softer than velvet: when clouds are seething and foaming from the valleys, and suddenly the mists open and a glimpse as in a vision of Heaven is flashed upon the sight—bright peaks gleaming with liquid light and lifted far above the dull earth from which they are seen: when the living glow of sunset fails them and the same peaks fall back ghastly and dead into the twilight, or at night reveal their shadowy beauty in a veil of soft spiritual light. Language cannot picture or thought exhaust a scenery where the power and loveliness of outward nature are blended in so exquisite a harmony. And it is within reach at

least of such a scenery that our dreary Anglo-Indian days are passed.

Now let us pass on to the life itself and try to trace some of the threads of poetry which are interwoven closely and frequently enough with the strange medley of grandeur and meanness, of ennobling and debasing elements which make up its texture. Conspicuous on the surface presents itself the world-old burden of exile, which some have found harder to bear than death, and which is inseparable from Indian life. The day is indeed gone by when the boy launched upon an Indian career was parted with as if for ever; but near as science has brought us to our loved ones, let us not be altogether blinded by the brilliance of her gifts. Modern civilisation is mighty to sweep away all that makes the wheels of life grate harshly. The prospects of the human race are very bright (as we have heard one say who had no thought of a future life); nor can any man estimate the value of the treasures which science has lavished upon this favoured generation, discoveries which day after day reveal themselves, like new constellations coming from the depths of space. To such progress moreover there seems to be set no limit. As Arthur Clough in one of his thoughtful poems has shown, Nature in her outward aspect loves to coquet with Science. The frowning precipice or yawning chasm yields gladly to his earnest wooing: the mountains are laid low and the valleys exalted, which

> —But for the joy of being conquered,
> (Rapture they will not forego), dare to resist and rebel.

But in her most vital aspect, in her heart of hearts, nature is unchanged and unchangeable. Love and hate, sorrow and joy, pain and pleasure neither die nor change. Travel in your palace-cars from end to end of the earth; shorten, infinitely if you will, the transit from West to East; parting is parting still, the image of death draped in the sorrowful robe of uncertainty, the impenetrable shadow which must ever overhang the morrow, and which in truth gives to this marvellous human life all its pathos and all its charm.

And so it is that the separation for an Indian life, with its many and daily multiplied alleviations, is and always must be real and affecting enough:—let alone the wrench in breaking indefinitely off from all early ties and associations, parting from father and mother, from sisters and all the sweet feminine influences which make an English home what it is: let alone the divergence to a new path leading further and further away from the loved and well-known round of country amusement and town excitement. Youth is strong, and eager to know and see the world and the phases of its manifold life, and seldom stops to think how irrevocable is the step taken, how deliberate

its acceptance of the lot of those whom their own place soon knows no more. But there are wider and more powerful influences at work to weave the many-coloured web of Indian story, and threads which are enwound about the very heart of our being. Who that knows India has not seen the young wife for whom her lover has come back, as she walks the steamer's deck with him, full of hope and trust, and happy that she is with her love?—and who has not seen her as she returns in a few years, with her pale sickly children by her side, every shade of colour long fled from the anxious face, and with only the still lustrous eyes to tell of what is lost? She has told of carriages and horses, of stately houses and troops of servants; but none has known or measured the unspeakable weariness and countless daily trials of her life, not to be explained to the innocent English mind, all the wearing away of nerve and spirit, of health and life. A few months, and the roses come back and the rounded cheeks tell of returning health till again comes the old trial and far harder now: there is no more charm of novelty: the weariness of the voyage and deadly dulness of the life are known only too well: and to crown all comes a new and terrible separation, the forced parting from the most precious treasure which life has given, which has indeed become the most essential part of life itself. To think of the absence of the cherished little one from her breast is bitter enough to the young mother, but even that is not all. None knows better than she that the child which now clings to her with passionate tears will be to her a stranger when next they meet: and who can sound the depths of feeling which at such a time bows the heart of a refined and sensitive woman, a tender loving mother? But her place is by her husband's side, where the delicate child can no longer safely be; and so her very life is torn asunder, and she almost blesses her who has no children.

Many are the thoughtless sarcasms passed on the "grass widow," on the fragile wife who has yielded to her husband's entreaty, and consented, by a cruel paradox for his sake to leave him, from whom death only should part her, to fight his own battle alone in the fierce tropical heat, with all its dulness and all its perils; but few ever pause to think of the deep sadness which underlies her gaiety, if she be only a true woman. Nor is this any fancy sketch, but only one of a hundred pictures such as every day meet the eye. Think of the uncomplaining husband whose lot it is, having married young and on a small income, to toil night and day for a life-time in rigid self-denial and in absolute devotion to the wife and children far away in England, whom he never sees, and may never see again. Think of the sister who has come to cheer her brother's loneliness, and

whose heart is, in spite of herself, given to a lover who would part her from that brother for ever: of the fresh English girl who has followed her love, and droops and dies like a flower before his eyes: and of darker and sadder pictures still: of estrangement between husband and wife, not seldom due to India alone: of the soldier whose wife or daughter exposure to Indian life has ruined: the devoted missionary who lays down his life in the hopeless effort to give to others the treasure he himself has found: the unselfish and laborious administrator cut down by the accursed knife of the assassin. Is this the exile of which many make so light? Is it not the very apotheosis of *heimweh*, this yearning prolonged for years, and relieved only by blessed weekly letters which bring a flush to the cheek and for a moment catch up their reader to a heaven of which he only dreams?—

> Like a sudden spark,
> Struck vainly in the night;
> And back returns the dark,
> With no more hope of light.

Apart again from the deeper personal influences by which we are all affected, unnumbered and unknown are the sacrifices to which he assents who voluntarily makes India the theatre of his life. Is it nothing that the roll of European politics, the din and tumult of our own world, is heard only as a distant echo? That the march of music and of art passes on unnoticed (though literature cannot leave us quite behind)? Is it nothing that we live an artificial life among unfamiliar races with whom we feel no kindred, in a climate to which we are never inured? That the land we live in is held only by armed force? That, in spite of material progress unexampled, in spite of noblest efforts to learn and to fulfil the wants of those whom we rule, we still read hatred in many a face around us? That we, the blunt, plain-spoken, honest Englishman, must perforce learn to look on all men as liars and cast our policy in the mould of the most watchful and astute diplomacy? Rather, is the hard-earned leisure to which we all look forward worth its price?—except to those few who, here and there, retaining a rare vigour, survive with character formed and chastened to look back upon their Indian life as on a dream.

Truly our men of property who live at home and grumble, not knowing their own happiness, have more than material wealth allotted to them; men whose children grow up around them and share their old associations, who travel only for health or pleasure and know nothing of this rending asunder of all that makes life worth living. Let such men remember the long monotonous years which thus eat out the life of their uncomplaining fellow-countrymen, whom it pleases them to fancy living in the lap of luxury, and of the tenor of whose days they only judge from the bright

faces and keenest enjoyment of life which are so conspicuous in their visits at home.

But while in any form, exile rivals death in the intensity of its pathos, very much of its burden in India is due to the often unobserved influences of climate and its irresistible dominance over our very habits of thought. We are not concerned here to give hints to persons about to go to India, but only to view as in a picture the atmosphere in which we live, and a few of the prominent notes of the life upon which it acts. Nor shall we dwell upon the real charms which cannot be denied to the climates of so vast an Empire: it is not of the delicious atmosphere of the Himálaya or Nilgiris that we shall speak, of the frosts of the Panjáb, or the few months of bracing and even piercing cold which each year brings to Northern India; not of sweet fresh mornings or forests sparkling with dew and alive with tropical flowers, the most lavishly decorated haunts of nature; not of balmy evenings or wild excitement of sport: but of that penetrating heat of which for the greater part of every year the majority of us bear the weight. Let us ask any one who has landed as a young man in India, even in the early part of the hot season, what were his first impressions. He will tell us, if we mistake not, that his first feeling was one of suffocation, that he *could* not live the best years of his fresh young life, just beginning, in an atmosphere physical and social so stifling to one brought up in the pure air of Europe; and will tell of the wonder with which he has heard the honest avowal of the old Indian, going home after a long career in the country, that he is not sure that he is glad to go. This leaden heat it is which, more and more every year, depresses the health and spirits, which makes strong men nervous and fretful as children, ruining the temper, and so incidentally widening the wide breach between race and race, yet of which—such is the wonderful elasticity of nature—we at last become unconscious, as men in a crowd of the suffocation they are undergoing; till even medical men are often led away and hesitate to recognise its baleful effects. Hence it is that we see men, the very marrow of whose lives is being slowly consumed by an unnatural climate, allowed or allowing themselves to linger on year after year, the veteran for his "off-reckonings," the civilian for his pension, the merchant or lawyer for his income; till nature, which is deaf alike to the noblest or the most pathetic appeal, revenges the violation of her law and exacts the life of the transgressor. And this intolerable heat it is which is the heaviest of the physical burdens of India, which soaks out all colour from every English face, and tells its tale too well in the weakly frames and constitutions of the half-breed populations. And to the enervating effects of an all-pervading heat, con-

demning to sedentary pursuits a people whose life is essentially one of free outdoor exercise, must be added the deadly monotony of a climate whose only changes follow each other with the regularity of machinery. It is common in England to hear complaints of the uncertainty of our own climate (to us individually one of its attractions), but there is no need for such complaints here. For our fickle English weather we have in exchange the hard certainties of the tropics: two seasons, wet and dry, whose coming and going are known almost to the day, and during either of which each day is the counterpart of its fellow. Farewell to Spring and Autumn, to grateful sunlight and sweet summer rain; for sunshine has turned from a welcome friend to an implacable and relentless enemy, and the ceaseless floods of the monsoon drown the early memories of April showers. This weary monotony is indeed broken at intervals by phenomena of wind and rain, of thunder and hail, seas and floods, grander than are to be conceived under the innocent skies of our childhood, just as the ennui of Oriental life is always liable to incidents of the most startling and overwhelming surprise. In our early days thunder and lightning are invested only with a majesty which is without terror; but those who, whether on land or sea, have ever witnessed the might of a tropical cyclone have learnt to feel a new and genuine awe in the presence of nature. No flight of imagination or fiction of poetry can travesty the grandeur of these phenomena, familiar to all who have lived in India. But excepting the occasional convulsions of a climate of which the unvarying laws are day by day yielding their secrets to the researches of science, the monotony of the Indian climate is one of the main elements in the essential monotony of the life. A climate which debilitates the strongest constitutions; which forces into new and straitened grooves the habits of our daily existence; against which we must ever be armed as against a watchful foe, and in which even the trivial surroundings of our homes, books and pictures and trinkets, require a daily care as vigilant as living animals—is not this in itself enough to account for that hatred of India which is on the lips of many a man who has endured it? And if this is so with men, absorbed in the keen interests of their life's work, what is it to the delicate women, the devoted wives and sisters who come out to share and relieve their weariness? It is true that there are women in the present day to whom life in India is happy enough. Young girls whose time is divided between the excitements of Simla and those of the capital, find India very bearable: surrounded by attentions and shielded from petty annoyances, theirs is no exile in the true sense of the word; the poetry here is the poetry of ball-room and opera, and who shall deny the reality of a poetry which is inspired by the divine ecstasy of

youth? But turn to any of the thousand rural stations and watch the daily life of such a one as her whom we lately saw following her lover full of youthful hope. The music changes to a minor key, like the wail of the Eolian harp, as we try to reckon the countless burdens which here add their load to that of the climate.

One of the most striking and to us unnatural features of English life in India is its publicity; as the privacy of home life in England is the first of those unknown and unvalued charms which come back with new sweetness to the returned Indian. The peaceful seclusion of the English drawing-room with its fragrant atmosphere is unknown in a country where houses are open from end to end. No gentle knock is heard at doors which are never closed, and no bell is at hand to summon servants for whose stealthy step you learn to be prepared at every moment. To this must be added the never ending domestic annoyances which are felt, and especially by ladies, with thousand-fold force under the influence of abnormal conditions; at the absolute necessity of personally superintending the minutest details of household management; the absence of any but the most trivial occupations outside the daily round of domestic care; the unfathomed duplicity and intolerable officiousness of Indian servants; the total want of sympathy with the poor of the land and the consequent isolation of many whose warm hearts are full of that human sympathy which in England finds its outlet in friendly visits to cottage homes. And in speaking of the many sacrifices of which the Anglo-Indian first becomes aware when he goes home, we must not omit to notice the absence in India of two at least of the most beautiful types of English life: the playfellows of our youth, both boys and girls, of that age intermediate between childhood and maturity, from fourteen to eighteen years; and the gentle old ladies who once graced our early homes.

We know of no object in nature more attractive than a sweet English girl of fourteen, full of life and health and of exquisite unconscious beauty; none more winning than the gentle grey-haired lady, "the embodiment of peaceful refinement," mature sagacity, and cultivated wit. But these familiar types of our loved home-life are for ever banished from the temporary home of the Englishman in India.

Privations and vexations such as these, common to men and women in India, may seem of small account when taken singly; but the sum of them, superadded upon the pressure of climate, and the personal trial attendant upon humanity in any country, will avail at times to crush out all heart from the freshest and youngest.

There have of course always been those who, coming young to India and forming there the strong fibre of youth, have become so

far naturalised that India does become to them the semblance of a home; but this phase too has its romance, the romance of the linnet born within the cage, and is often not without a deeper romance still, hidden out of sight but interwoven with the story of many of those whom we meet every day—the romance of a rich inheritance of character frittered unconsciously away by contact with lowering external conditions. And so in effect there are none to whom India is ever really home; nor, with all good will to India, can we even wish that it were otherwise.

It remains then to ask what counter forces are those which still attract men to this life and lead them to embrace it, with all its evils as, what in truth it is, a worthy and ennobling career. The first of these forces is unquestionably the dire force of necessity. The mother country has not room for all her sons, and some must find a new home for themselves. But akin and hardly second to this is the transient enthusiasm of youth, the undefined longing for a freedom which seems unattainable in the narrow atmosphere of home, which is one of the leading motives of English enterprise, as it is not seldom the index of a stamp of character upon which India tells in the best way. And when we come to analyse this often unreasoning impulse, we find that it has its origin in no unworthy aspiration. There is much that is elevating in a career in which independence and self-reliance are perforce called out and developed, yet where the conditions of life guard the character against many of those harsh conceits which are contracted under more favourable outward conditions.

The Anglo-Indian character in its highest development has all the masculine qualities without the self-assertion and egotism which are too often found in our colonies properly so called. The proverbially strengthening influence which is exercised on the mind by foreign travel, by contact with many phases of life and thought, by excitements of danger, in travel or sport or duty, gives a breadth and compass to the character which are hardly to be acquired under other conditions. And perhaps in no other country in the world does such absolute freedom reign, of thought and opinion, of speech and life, as in India; so that many even of those who most keenly feel the pains of expatriation would hardly care to exchange them for the restraints of a profession in the old country.

Influences such as these act upon every class alike, even upon those whose only interest in the country is as a step in the ladder of fortune. But to those who have a share, however insignificant, in the conduct of the affairs of this wonderful Empire, who are interested, however remotely, in the progress of the people, there is much indeed to weigh against the otherwise overwhelming burdens of the life. In spite of these, men learn to take a pride

in their work who feel themselves a part of the magnificent machinery which has already transformed not one but many Empires, each the growth of centuries, moulding them into one vast system: which still effects daily revolutions in the habits and thoughts of countless ages: which works perpetually in the dark, learning where to plant a firm footing and where to withdraw from a false position, or to abandon one which has become untenable. There is much that is invigorating in the visible progress which marks each year, in the exercise of power over many men, in the conscious independence of a position which even in England is regarded not without envy. Here is the source of the dash and chivalry which so often characterize men trained in India, of that not uncommon *esprit de corps* which makes each man boast of his own province as the finest in the Empire, each jealous of its fame, for climate, for administration, for the character of its people. This it is which makes men forget the blows of a contest in which they have forgotten themselves. Indolence, no doubt, and selfishness rear their heads in India no less conspicuously than in other countries; but where there is the foundation of a genuine character, there the undeniable interest of the life seldom fails to leave its stamp, developing and drawing out the stronger capacities and casting the weaker into the shade. Even the early influences of Indian life are very marked: if we compare the average of the young men who have been for two or three years in the country with their fellows in age and education who annually visit India as tourists, the rawness of the latter character contrasts strongly with the solidity which is being daily acquired by the former: and of the hold which an Indian career takes on the men who become absorbed in it, we may judge from the longing with which those forced by circumstances to retire at an early age invariably look back to the life which gave them an object of engrossing interest. The ultimate effects of this life upon those who live it out, are too well known to need any lengthy demonstration here. No one who observes human nature and types of English character, is unacquainted with a type which is no more faultless than any other, but in which are often conspicuously united some of the rarest and most valued endowments of humanity.

It is no unreal picture which has been so often drawn, nor any the less faithful that its originals would be the first to disclaim it—the manly frank bearing coupled with an almost feminine tenderness: the flexible imagination keen to interpret the thoughts of other men: the freshness which has a child's enjoyment of life: the healthy mind in which a wide common sense has displaced all insular narrowness of thought, knowing the world well enough to appreciate fully its pleasures, to sympathize with its pains, and above all to tolerate its endless evils of misery and folly, of weak-

ness and vice. Such are some of the living traits which, in its maturest aspect, and before it has been clouded by the infirmities of declining years, mark the character of the old Indian, a character befitting a ruler of men, and such as is formed only by long years passed in the real conflicts of the world. Nor does it in any way detract from the truthfulness of such a picture that the central figure is set off in bold outline against a mass of colourless characters, that in a thousand instances the influence of India is not for the individual good, that by India and India alone enthusiasm is often turned to indifference, activity to indolence, reverence to cynicism, gentleness to tyranny, even integrity to an unscrupulous selfishness: and this too by a fatal necessity which it is impossible that all should resist.

But in passing in review the modes in which India acts upon those most intimately associated with the interests of the country, we are reminded of one class of our countrymen to which the conditions of the life we have been considering are harder than to any other, although it is a class which has special claims upon our sympathy and which perhaps more than any other contributes to India what it has of home associations and home attractions. To the brave men who are here to guard the Empire and hold the conquests of a necessarily unpopular, however wise power, India is truly exile. Shifted from province to province, with no ties binding them to soil or people, no duties beyond the dull routine of barracks, what consolation is theirs? It is useless to study language or character, it is hardly worth while to form attachments among their companions in banishment only to be rudely and perhaps finally broken in a year or two at most. Even the noble and infinitely varied sports of India are not compensation to more than a small minority. Appointments on the staff are comparatively rare, and for the Regimental Officer it must suffice that he is serving his country in a profession which has always been most honourable; and, for the rest, that hardship is the soldier's privilege! And is there no poetry here? To a nature which cannot rest content with the rapid round of social amusement, is not this a situation which calls for the bravest and most patient spirit of sacrifice?

And before we quit a theme which presents subjects of such profound interest and inexhaustible variety, a brief notice must be added of the manner in which this unique phase of English life affects the character of the women who form in it so conspicuous and so bright a feature. Here we are naturally led into the Indian social world, and at the outset we cannot hide from ourselves the notorious fact that no society on earth is so proverbial as that of the English in India for the smallest of social gossip and the pettiest of social feuds. Be the truth of this as it may, to those who consider well the conditions such as we have faintly indicated them, under

which Indian society is composed and carried on, it will be no matter for surprise if, at least away from the great social centres, the barren fruits of a life of ennui do spring up like weeds; while those who know India best are able to testify that it is this want of coherence, with all its outcome of social discords, inseparable from Indian society, which is felt by all alike to be the very keystone of all the weariness which besets our life in India.

And yet to this combination of influences we owe a manifestation of feminine character which is perhaps without its counterpart, as are the special conditions under which it is developed. For with women as with men, if the effect of Indian life is in many cases to weaken, its effect is conspicuously to strengthen and enrich a character of the best mettle. Something of the bloom may be wanting which graces the sheltered hot-house flower; but there are wild flowers which brave the open weather to which is given a freshness and a delicate beauty which the exotic cannot claim. Most of us in India have had the happiness to meet one of those gentle, unselfish, unobtrusive women who are the salt of society in any country, but whose character is brought out by Indian social life at once into full maturity and prominent relief. Endowed it may be with no brilliant gifts of beauty or accomplishment, she moves through society as if invested with some mysterious charm, patient to bear her own daily trials with brave unconscious self-devotion, and active to bind into one the incongruous elements which are thrown together in the small and ever shifting knots of Indian society. The devoted wife, the frank and faithful friend, the ever cheerful companion, she it is who heals the petty social wounds which are so easily inflicted and so quickly aggravated in the heated social atmosphere. Dimly conscious of the immense power which she wields by simple purity and sincerity of character, and with genius to recognize the greatness of the task, she has strength and courage to face and to lay the social demons which, unknown elsewhere, lower about our Indian homes—demons of petty official pride, demons of paltriest scandal, demons of a small and irritating social tyranny. And this again is no abstraction. These are the women who make our houses graceful and home-like, and who do make men forget that India is exile. The ideal of wise and loving womanhood, it is from women such as these that our conception of angels is formed, the most beautiful conception of the human mind. Noble types of the feminine character have, thank God, in all ages and all lands made life tolerable; but the world has never seen a nobler than this whose formation is largely due to the special influences of Anglo-Indian life.

Once more to cast back the eye over the motley picture, there is much in English life in India that is attractive, in its motives,

its freedom, its variety, its still profuse hospitality, its social amusements, its sports, even in its luxuries unknown in other countries; and there is very much too that is repelling in the bitterness of exile, in influences of climate, in cramped social relations, and in privations and annoyances without name or number. Between these, let each man strike the balance for himself. So much at least is certain; to women and men alike life in India is a very real test of character, a test under which many fail, but from which hundreds come forth like gold from the furnace, to leaven the national character with an element which is perhaps the only real and lasting gain which England reaps from her Indian Empire.

Thus we have tried to follow for a few steps one or two of the rich veins of poetry which run through one of the most outwardly prosaic forms of modern civilised life, and to view as in a rough, unfinished landscape the medley of which it is composed; and if the scenes on which we have lingered most are those most coloured by a sombre tinge, it is not that we are not aware of brighter colours mingling with the rest, but that to us the prevailing tone which presents itself is the subdued mezzotint which we have employed, and which may after all be mainly due to the colour-blindness of an individual mind which stamps all things with its own dull tint. At least we are conscious, to revert to our former simile, of utter incompetence to do more than point out, like the diviner, the seam which others may work, but which none will ever exhaust. For as beneath a surface which has least to attract the eye the ore is often richest and most abundant, so is even the dullest phase of human life the theme of an unwritten poetry, inexhaustible in depth and variety, set to a music which is at one time a melody, at another a discord, and again a wonderful harmony, the infinite music of life, which some are able to read but which no man can interpret.

Art. IV.—A DECADE OF SANITATION IN INDIA.

1.—*Report of Commissioners on Cholera Epidemic of* 1861 *in Northern India. Calcutta* : 1864.

2.—*Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India,* 1865-1870.

3.—*Reports on Measures adopted for Sanitary Improvements in India during the years* 1868, 1869, *and up to the month of June,* 1870. *London.* 1869, 1870.

THE history of sanitary progress in India may be said to date from 1861. In that year cholera was epidemic in the northern provinces of the Bengal Presidency, as it had often been before, but its terrible virulence at Mián-Mír the military cantonment of Lahor, was the immediate cause which forcibly drew the attention of Government to the necessity of investigating the local circumstances attending the outbreak of the pestilence in the stations which chiefly suffered, of determining, so far as possible, the causes which affected the progress and virulence of the disease, and of founding, on the basis of facts to be obtained, a system of sanitary measures having for its object the prevention or mitigation of future attacks.

A special commission, of which Mr. John Strachey was nominated president, was accordingly instituted by the Government of India. This commission met at Lahor on the 20th September, 1861, and may, not inaptly, be called the first crusade against cholera, the history of which is written in the well-known "Report of the Cholera Epidemic of 1861 in Northern India."

Since the issue of this Report in July, 1862, a period of ten years has just elapsed, and we purpose reviewing, in short space, the progress of sanitary measures, and their results, during this decade, in the Bengal Presidency especially.

Sanitary progress in all countries depends on the effectual administration of measures directed to the suppression or mitigation of diseases, the knowledge of such measures having been arrived at previously either by experience or by scientific enquiry.

In estimating, then, the amount of sanitary progress in any period, the subject must be considered from two points of view:—

1.—Sanitary progress consequent on increase of knowledge of the etiology of disease, resulting either from experience or from direct scientific inquiry—Scientific sanitary progress.

2.—Sanitary progress resulting from the more effectual administration of sanitary measures—Practical sanitary progress.

It will be necessary, therefore, to inquire into the practical and scientific condition of sanitary matters in the Bengal Presidency at the period of the outburst of epidemic cholera over the provinces of Northern India in 1861. On these heads we have, fortunately, most complete and accurate information in the Report of the Commissioners referred to above.

At page 294 the Commissioners, Mr. John Strachey and Inspector-General Dr. McClelland, write :—" In concluding this report " we desire again to notice the necessity of measures for the gradu- " al removal of the ignorance which now prevails regarding almost " every matter of sanitary importance in India. So long as this " ignorance remains, it is useless to hope that measures for the " prevention of cholera or of disease generally among our European " soldiers can have any sort of completeness. Up to the present " time we have hardly made a beginning in laying even the " foundations of true sanitary knowledge. We require the regis- " tration of deaths, the observation, on a regular and uniform plan, " of meteorological phenomena ; the record of facts to show the " nature of the relations which exist between variations of climate " and season ; the rates of mortality, and the prevalence of disease ; " and generally the systematic accumulation of knowledge regard- " ing matters that affect the public health.

" At the present time we know almost nothing regarding the " real sanitary conditions even of the places at which our Euro- " pean troops have been stationed for a long series of years. There " hardly exists, as we have already noticed, a satisfactory account " of the climate of a single place in the whole of Northern India. " The principles upon which our barracks and hospitals should be " constructed, or our plans of conservancy carried out remain " doubtful and undecided. If we wish to ascertain a matter so " apparently simple as that of the comparative healthiness of " various cantonments, we find it scarcely possible to come to any " conclusion, so obviously deceptive and full of error are all the avail- " able data. Regarding the effect of climate and of other causes " on mortality and disease among the native population we know " literally nothing.

" The first thing that we require is, therefore, the means of " obtaining some insight into the laws upon which public health " in India depends.

" It is not in this branch of the subject alone that comprehen- " sive views are necessary. If we desire to render the sanitary " condition of our European soldiers really satisfactory, we must " not, when we come to practical measures of improvement, ignore, " as we have hitherto done, the existence of the masses of the " native population in the midst of which our soldiers must " generally live. It is hopeless to expect that we can guard " against the attacks of epidemic disease by any amount of care

"in our cantonments, if every sanitary precaution is neglected "in the native cities and towns close by. For practical purposes "we may consider that, in this respect up to the present time, "nothing has been done at all."

This is a clear statement of the condition of sanitary matters in 1861 in the Bengal Presidency. It is for us now to consider how far our knowledge of the laws which govern public health in India has increased during the past ten years, how far we have acted in accordance with the sanitary principles deduced, and how far successfully. Starting with the Report in question, we find in the measures of precaution recommended to be observed on the appearance of cholera, by the Commissioners, sanitary progress, the result of experience too dearly bought in the terrible outbreak of the pestilence at Mián-Mír and other stations within the epidemic area. The appalling condition of the sick crowded in the Regimental Hospital at Mián-Mír, the utter failure of conservancy arrangements, so that the building became a veritable pest-house, fatal alike to the patient and to his comrades told off to attend him, led to the recognition of one of the most important sanitary principles—the necessity of strictly isolating cases of epidemic disease.

This may be taken as a sanitary axiom applicable to every form of epidemic disease. The necessity not only of isolating cases of epidemic disease from cases of other disease, but also, where practicable, of treating such cases in separate apartments, has received fresh confirmation with each year's experience. Indeed, the whole system of hospitalism is open to serious objections. European experience has shown that in very many cases the fatal disease has had its origin in hospital wards, and patients have died, not of the diseases for which they were originally admitted, but of those generated in hospital. It is very questionable if it be possible to construct any large building, the several parts of which shall be at all times free from the dangerous effluvia given off by those suffering from communicable diseases. When we reflect on the difficulty of keeping the external atmosphere pure in large towns, we are forced to conclude that no plan of hospital ventilation has yet been devised on which thorough reliance can be placed.

There are many days, in England even, when, owing to the perfect stillness of the atmosphere, the best constructed ventilators cease to act except where the air is propelled through them by mechanical means. If this be true of English how much more does it apply to Indian hospitals, where, day after day, especially during the rains, the only motion in the sultry air is imparted by a punkah, and ventilation, as understood in Europe, may be said to be *nil.*

Although the danger of large hospitals has been recognised, and, so far, there has been scientific sanitary progress in this

respect; yet, practically, improvement has been very slight in India. The Report of 1861 led to the order that cases of cholera should on no account be mixed up with those of other diseases; and accordingly, in military stations at least, separated buildings or huts have been erected or set apart for the accommodation of cases of cholera, small-pox, or other epidemic or contagious diseases; or where these do not exist, arrangements have been made for erecting hospital tents for the same purpose.

In the latest rules published by the Military Department, respecting measures to be adopted on the outbreak of cholera, the danger of the existing system of hospitalism is recognised in these words:—"It must be borne in mind that in very numerous "instances it is in the hospital, among patients under treatment "for other diseases, that cholera first appears."

Still, however, the old system prevails among the military, with the exceptions noted above, while in the principal cities and towns of India the sick of the native population is accommodated in great, palatial, double-storied buildings where the difficulties of attendance and conservancy are increased four-fold, and necessary cleanliness and sufficient ventilation rendered impossible.

But sanitary progress in the Bengal Presidency must be sought for in the vast improvement that has taken place during the past decade in the condition of the principal cities and towns and military stations. In Calcutta, alone, has a perfect system of drainage and water-supply been partially carried out, but in most of the other cities and towns of the Presidency the removal of refuse matters is very effectually performed by hand-labour. Calcutta of 1861, probably the most insanitary city in the world, differs most essentially from Calcutta of 1871, which in its mortality bears favourable comparison with London, and actually exceeds in healthiness some of the principal cities of England. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India writes thus:—"The very marked improvement in the health of the "town of Calcutta which has characterized 1870, and which "has been coincident with the introduction of a good water-"supply, deserves special mention. Comparing the statistics of "mortality with what they have been previously, it appears that "in 1870 the deaths from cholera numbered only 1,563, less "than one-half of what they were in the year previous, and very "little over one-half of what they were in the most favourable year "of which there is any record. Between 1841 and 1860 the an-"nual deaths from this one cause varied from a minimum of 2,502 "in 1848 to a maximum of 6,553 in 1860. From 1861 to 1864 "no records are procurable; but the later years, 1865 to 1869, "present quite as many fatal cases in each as are to be found in "the earlier period. Dysentery and diarrhœa in 1870 were also at a "minimum which had never been reached before. The results

" as a whole were also singularly favourable. It is too early to draw " any favourable conclusions from these facts, for it remains to be " seen how far the results may be properly ascribed to a better " water-supply, and to the new drainage, and how far they merely " represent the healthy character of the year ; but there can be no " question that the sanitary improvements which have been intro- " duced into Calcutta of late years are calculated to have a marked " influence on the public health, and that the greatest benefit " may be anticipated from them." *

The total number of deaths in Calcutta from cholera last year, as given in the Municipal Report, was only 800, very slightly over half the number of deaths in the preceding year, 1870, and therefore, according to Dr. Cunningham, *about one quarter the number in the most favourable year of which there is any record.*

These results, coincident with the introduction of an abundant supply of filtered water, and a perfect system of drainage, which, however, has been only partially applied, are very hopeful, as they seem to indicate the means whereby cholera may be, as it were, stamped out of the delta of the Ganges.†

What an incalculable blessing for the millions of inhabitants of this great Presidency, if their mortality from cholera and dysentery were reduced by one-half as in Calcutta in 1870. But while the inhabitants of the cities and towns, very few in number compared with the millions occupying the country districts, enjoy in varying degree the good results due to sanitary improvements, the latter remain in almost precisely the same condition they were a hundred years ago, or have changed it for worse, as, for instance, in the Hugli district.

The loss of life and physical deterioration of the people occupying this part of the delta of the Ganges from fever alone has been enormous, especially during the last three years. The fever seems to have increased in virulence during the past twelve months, and the unfortunate inhabitants of the district have been more than decimated. The same endemic fever raged in the Bardwán and Naddea districts in 1861 and 1862, and its excessive virulence led to an inquiry into its causes and progress by the Government of Bengal. That no good resulted from this inquiry is, unfortunately, only too evident. The inhabitants of these districts are reduced to the lowest state of physical deterioration ; and the only help afforded by Government has been in the shape of quinine distributed at the local dispensaries by native sub-assistant surgeons and other native medical assistants. It would be interesting to know how much good is effected by this

* Seventh Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, pp., 106, 107.

† A result, according to Dr. Bryden's theory, necessarily followed by the extinction of the disease throughout the world ! O utinam !

plan, and we would accordingly inquire—how many applicants for quinine require that medicine? how many of those who require it obtain it? and lastly, how much of that sent out from the medical stores in Calcutta is distributed?

To fevers by far the greater amount of mortality in India is due. The writer has noticed in a former number of this journal a remarkable fact, in connection with the province of Oudh, that, if from the total mortality be taken that due to fevers alone, we have a death-rate from all other causes, cholera included, considerably under that returned for the United Kingdom. This is very remarkable, especially if it be considered that by far the greater number of these fevers are of malarious origin, and are almost unknown in the British Islands.

In the absence of any complete or even reliable health-statistics of the native population during the past ten years, the following table showing deaths and admissions in the European army from 1862 to 1872,* illustrates the fact that the sanitary measures put in force during this period, while apparently very effectual in lessening the number of cases and virulence of cholera, dysentery, and dirrahœa, have been powerless so far as fevers are concerned. This table exhibits the percentage of admissions to hospital and deaths per 1,000 for each year separately, and shows also the total for the first five years of the decade compared with that of the last five years.

	Deaths per 1,000 of average strength.			Admissions to hospital per cent. of average strength.		
	Cholera.	Dysentery and Diarrhœa.	Fevers.	Cholera.	Dysentery and Diarrhœa.	Fevers.
1861 ...	23·73	5·36	3·97	3·71	22·21	71·52
1862 ...	9·61	3·57	3·34	1·57	16·83	80·58
1863 ...	4·09	3·73	2·82	0·55	14·49	73·90
1864 ...	2·55	2·30	3·14	0·37	13·39	54·23
1865 ...	3·12	2·87	3·71	0·43	14·04	52·85
	333·08	80·96	6·63	16·98	17·83	43·10
1866 ...	1·37	2·17	3·23	0·23	12·90	46·83
1867 ...	13·84	2·37	2·63	2·09	13·08	46·57
1868 ...	1·81	1·71	2·88	0·27	11·41	46·24
1869 ...	16·46	3·55	4·71	2·57	14·54	75·03
1870 ...	0·63	2·07	4·28	0·15	10·28	83·45
	34·11	11·87	17·73	5·31	62·21	298·12

* Taken from Dr. Bryden's "Vital Statistics of the Armies and Jails of the Bengal Presidency, 1858-69."

The above table, while exhibiting the apparent effect of sanitary measures—minus drainage—on the health of the British troops in the Bengal Presidency, does not give any idea of the relative amount of sickness and mortality from the same diseases among the native population. Natives suffer far less from cholera and dysentery, in proportion to their number, than Europeans.

When the terrible outbreak of cholera among the British troops at Mián-Mír was at its worst, the native population of the adjoining city of Lahor was almost free from the disease. This is not a solitary instance; in many other stations the same conditions were present, and it may be taken as a settled fact that wherever cholera occurs the British soldier suffers by far the most.*

But the application of sanitary measures to the prevention of disease has been almost altogether confined during the past ten years to the military and principal civil stations of the Presidency; while the village populations have been, on the whole, left to shift for themselves, losing sight of an important fact well expressed in the "Remarks by the Army Sanitary Commission upon 'Memorandum on measures adopted for Sanitary Improvement in India up to the end of 1867,'" as follows:—

"Groups of native population in their present state are the "centres from which cholera originates; and not until the sources "of this and other pestilences are cut off, can the health of troops "be considered safe."

As year succeeds year, and facts relating to sanitary matters accumulate and are recorded, it becomes proved to demonstration that we hold in our own hands the power of preventing both epidemic and endemic disease.

The station of Utakamand, in the Madras Presidency, placed at an elevation of 6,000 feet above the sea, was specially selected as a sanitarium owing to the healthiness of the locality; yet, in the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Madras for 1867, it is shown that the healthiness of the station had then so far deteriorated that fatal typhoid fever had become endemic among the residents, and to such an extent as "to make it dangerous for invalids to resort to it at all." The causes of this rapid change in the healthy character of the station are stated to be due to—

"1.—Absence of healthy plan and construction; as also, of proper arrangement of houses.

"2.—Absence of efficient drainage and cleansing, so that the ground has become soddened with filth.

"3.—Pollution of water sources."

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* This fact is well illustrated by the following statistics of attacks and deaths among European and Native troops occurring at the same stations and at the same dates:—

ATTACKS PER 1,000.

British Troops	89·20
Native Troops	9·56

DIED PER 1,000.

British Troops	53·68
Native "	4·11

Bryden's Report on the cholera of 1866-68, &c.

As in Utakamand so throughout India the source of every epidemic and endemic disease may be traced to the causes enumerated above ; which, being introduced by human agency, are removable by the same means.

This being granted, it becomes the first duty of those who administer the affairs of this country to see that, so far as in their power lies, the means for putting in force the sanitary measures required be supplied. The field for the application of such measures is vast, the work which must be done is enormous ; but " many hands make light work," and the people themselves must act in the matter. But this they never will do until they are first clearly shown the necessity for the measures proposed to be carried out, and then should they refuse to render assistance they must be compelled.* It is a clearly established point in English law that no man has a right to injure his neighbour by creating nuisances in and about his dwelling ; and nowhere does this law so much require to be enforced as in this country, where it becomes a question, not merely of comfort, but also of life.

India is, essentially, the country of pilgrims, and these have been long recognised as originators and disseminators of disease. Where great multitudes of people are collected in a confined space in a tropical climate, without any arrangements for the removal of refuse matters or the supply of pure drinking water, it is not to be wondered at that disease will originate among them, and on their dispersion be carried far and wide throughout the country. Much has been done during the past ten years to mitigate the evil resulting from this source. At most of the places of pilgrimage sanitary measures have been put in force, arrangements made to prevent crowding, to remove refuse matters, and ensure a supply of good drinking water. These have been followed by most encouraging results, especially at the great places of pilgrimage in the Madras Presidency. In a memorandum by the Army Sanitary Commission on the " Report and order of the Madras Government, regarding the control of pilgrimages in the Madras Presidency," the excellence of the measures adopted is recognised, and the fact that cholera and other epidemic diseases may be prevented or arrested by sanitary measures attested as follows :—

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* The Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay remarks, in his Report for 1868, that there is much encouragement from the consideration that in three years the masses have begun to learn that such scourges as cholera, fever, and the like can be prevented by the ordinary precautions of sanitation, by cleanliness in dwellings, by pure water and ventilation. He says : "Few know, as we do, how " much the poorer classes have been " persuaded to do for themselves, to " improve their dwellings, and how " much money they have really spent " in these improvements."

"This report contains facts of great interest and importance re-
"garding cholera in India. It shows not only that breathing foul
"air and drinking foul water lead to a development of cholera among
"bodies of pilgrims apparently in good health, but that with very
"moderate care in preventing the atmosphere being fouled by
"human excreta spread over the country, or by other nuisances;
"by providing free ventilation and by protecting water sources from
"impurity, large bodies of people may come together, hold their
"fairs or pilgrimages, and return home without taking cholera.

"The experience of Congeveram and Humphi is most important
"to the future management of pilgrimages as well as to the future
"prevention of cholera everywhere, for it indicates the direction
"in which efforts for the prevention of cholera should be made in
"India. On comparing the experience at Congeveran and Hum-
"phi with that at Hurdwar, the necessity of removing all excre-
"mentitious and other noxious matters away from camps and
"towns instead of burying them among or near the population is
"clearly shown.

"It is most satisfactory to know that an arrest can be put on
"cholera by these simple and easy measures of prevention, which
"have, moreover, the experience of all past epidemics in Europe
"to sustain them."

While little has been done, practically, during the past decade towards the improvement of the sanitary condition of the Bengal Presidency generally, it is satisfactory to know that a vast amount of information regarding matters that affect the public health has been collected during this time, and set forth in the Reports of the Local Sanitary Commissioners, and in the Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

Dr. Cunningham's Report for 1867 contained the history of the cholera epidemic of that year in Northern India, which was supposed to have had its origin at the great Hurdwar fair. On consideration of this Report the Army Sanitary Commission recommended that a special inquiry into the whole subject of epidemic cholera in the East should be instituted. The result was that two young medical officers, Drs. Lewis and Cunningham, of the British and Indian Medical Services respectively, were sent to Calcutta in the latter part of 1868, to enter upon this special inquiry. These gentlemen happened to be first of the several candidates for commissions in their respective services in the beginning of that year; and it was believed that, in selecting officers at the commencement of their service, there would be this advantage, that, while thoroughly acquainted with the latest teaching on the subjects, their minds would be unprejudiced by any theories which as senior officers they might have formed or adopted. In 1868 the

theories of Hallier and Petenkoffer regarding the etiology of cholera were the subject of much interest to the whole medical profession, and were by many accepted as proved. It was, therefore, deemed advisable that the first part of this inquiry should be devoted to ascertain on what foundation these theories rested; and Drs. Lewis and Cunningham were, therefore, directed to proceed first to Germany and study the subject there with the authors of the theories.

On their subsequent arrival in India these officers proceeded to investigate the merit sof these theories; and Dr. Lewis published, in 1870, the result of his inquiries, which was the disproval of Hallier's theory that any special fungus was characteristic of choleraic evacuations. Dr. Cunningham's account of his investigation of Petenkoffer's theory in the Madras Presidency was published last year in the "Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India." The author considers it premature, in the absence of required data, to form any final conclusion, and thinks it very desirable that the existence of any facts in favour of the soil theory should be distinctly put forward, and the more so, that there seems to be enough of these to forbid its wholesale rejection.

Although the Reports of both Drs. Lewis and Cunningham are of the highest scientific interest, we must consider that, practically at least, the time occupied in writing them has been wasted. We see little prospect of true sanitary progress for the future if the scientific investigation of the etiology of disease in India is to be confined by Government to testing the truth of theories. For, as Miss Nightingale ha swell remarked, "the public health ques-
" tion is not a question of opinion. It is a question—

" 1.—Of what is fact?

" 2.—Of what is practicable and expedient?

" However ingenious a theory may be, the wisest thing is never
" to expend public money on it"; and again—"the questions
" to be dealt with are either questions of fact or they are nothing.
" No speculative matter should ever peep out of or creep into
" public health reports intended to lead to practical action."*

Can we estimate the public good that might have resulted had these gentlemen been free from the day they arrived in India to investigate the disease as they found it? Opportunities for determining certain questions are sometimes afforded, which, if not seized at the proper time may not be again available for years to come. We trust such opportunities have not been lost while the dreams of the German professors were being interpreted.

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* Report on measures adopted for sanitary improvements in India, from June 1869 to June 1870, p. 42.

However, the Government has initiated real sanitary progress in ordering a special inquiry into the etiology of cholera. Without a knowledge of the causes of the diseases we try to prevent, the means of prevention adopted must be empirical, and their success partial. It is very desirable that the fevers of the Bengal Presidency, to which such an enormous loss of life and physical deterioration of the population are yearly due, be also made the subject of special inquiry, so that we may know how far it is in our power to mitigate or remove them by carrying out sanitary measures which, if known, might prove to be attended with much less difficulty in their execution than our most sanguine hopes lead us, in our present ignorance, to expect.

We should know how far the silting up of the beds of rivers, the construction of barriers to the flow of water, as railway embankments, and irrigation by means of canals affected the health of the inhabitants; and it would be a very great satisfaction to us to be truly informed how far the people of the Bengal Presidency, and especially those of the Hugli district, have had to suffer for the blessings generally believed to be granted them in the form of railways, and elevated, well-made roads in their swampy valleys.

In carrying out an inquiry of this kind, statistics showing, as far as practicable, the nature of the fevers which give rise to this great mortality, should be procured.

We should then know how much is due to deficient drainage—represented by malarious fevers; to insufficient and innutritious food—by relapsing fevers; and to absence of effective conservancy measures—by pythogenic fevers. All these causes no doubt work together,* but it would be well, before entering on any great works, having for their object the removal of any one of them, to know, as far as possible, the nature of the most potent.

But a most important subject for scientific investigation has received very slight attention during the past ten years, namely, the relation of meteorological phenomena to the occurrence of local and epidemic diseases. An attempt has been made, since about the beginning of 1860, to secure the observation of meteorological phenomena by supplying meteorological instruments to the military stations, and making the medical officer of each corps responsible that daily observations are taken and the mean of these entered monthly in a table provided for that purpose, in the Annual Sanitary Report. Every medical officer is thus supposed to be a meteorologist,† and is expected to work out the subject in addition to his professional duties.

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* The individual whose whole system has become enfeebled by malarious fevers ill resists the attacks of other fevers, and *vice versâ.*

† The only medical officers in the services who are known to have obtained any special instructions n taking meteorological observations

It is sufficiently evident that under such a system the sources of fallacy must be many, the preparation of the reports imperfect, and any attempt to generalise facts, from data thus obtained, impossible.

But, indeed, no facts have been attempted to be generalised from these reports. They are sent in yearly, are glanced at and laid aside, and sanitary science is no richer for their preparation.

To carry out the recommendations of the Cholera Commission of 1861, to make the scientific investigation of the relation of meteorological phenomena to disease a reality and not a sham, we require the appointment, at the principal military stations at least, of each Presidency, of officers specially qualified for the purpose.

As such officers should belong to the medical profession, the expense of the extra appointments would be greatly lessened by making the services of these officers available at the military hospitals. These officers should be retained, if possible, at the same station for at least three *complete* years ; they should be selected from the whole body of medical officers serving in India on account of special ability for this inquiry, and should be granted a staff allowance in addition to their ordinary pay.

The officer appointed to head-quarters might, in addition to his own observations, receive, correct, and tabulate the results obtained and forwarded by the provincial officers to the office of the Inspector General of Hospitals.

The observations should be recorded daily in a printed form, distinct from the Annual Sanitary Report, which should be forwarded monthly to the Inspector-General's office.

The kind of form to be used, and the manner in which the inquiry should be carried out, should be determined by the Army Sanitary Commission in consultation with the leading civil and military medical authorities.

To sum up, there has been considerable sanitary progress during the past ten years, but, as regards the Presidency generally, the literature of the subject has gained far more than the people have generally benefited by practical efforts in their behalf. Practical sanitary progress, as remarked above, can only fairly be said to have taken place to any extent in the military and chief civil stations. In these, too, much still remains to be done.*

In most military stations the troops are supplied with good drinking water, and in all filters are provided. The conservancy is well attended to, and no possibility now happily exists for the

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are those who have passed through the Army Medical School since 1860. None of these officers have yet attained the rank of Surgeon, and consequently are not responsible for the accuracy of the Regimental Meteorological Records.

* In Peshâwar, for instance.

accumulation of enormous heaps of filth in deep cesspools, poisoning the air and water around, as obtained at Mián-Mír at the time of the outbreak of the fatal epidemic of 1861. New barracks on the most approved hygienic principles of construction have been and are being built, and in almost every respect the British soldier is well cared for. But so long as the condition of the rural population remains uncared for, so long as they are permitted to make their dwellings, and the ground about them, and the tanks and wells from which they draw their drinking water, receptacles for every form of filth, so long will epidemics of disease devastate the country, and the British soldier and European resident fall a prey to their virulence.

Art. V.—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

No. II.—The Nadiya' Ra'j.

1.—*Kshitísa-bansábalí-charitam*; or, a Genealogical account of the family of Kshitísa, father of Bhatta Náráyana, in Sanskrit. Translated into English by Pertsch.

2.—*Krishna Chandra Charitra*, or Life of Krishna Chandra Ráya. By Rájib Lochan Mukharji, in Bengáli.

3.—*Sír ul Muta Khírin.* Translated by Mustaphá.

4.—*Charithshtak.* By Kálí May Ghatak, in Bengali.

NADIYA' (or Nuddea) was founded by Lakshman Sen, son of Ballál Sen, King of Gaur, in 1063. The Bhágirathí enjoys a sanctity not pertaining to the Mahánadí on which Gaur is situated; and hence Nadiyá was considered from a Hindú point of view a more desirable royal residence than the latter. Ballál Sen and the members of his family used to pay frequent visits to Nadiyá for the purpose of cleansing their sins by ablution in the waters of the Bhágirathí. On the other side of the river there is a large mound still called after Ballál Sen. It was recently dug up by one Mullá Sáhib; who discovered some *barkoses* or wooden trays, and a box containing remnants of shawls and silken dresses, and also some small silver coins. There is also a *díghí* or lake called *Ballálídíghí.* It is on the east of the Bhágirathí, and on the west of the Jalangí. The founder, Lakshman Sen, built a palace of which the ruins are still extant. It was situated on the south of a tank called *Bil-pukur*, on the east of the Bhágirathí, on the west of the Jalangí, and on the north of Samudra-gariá. Nadiyá at the time of its foundation was situated right on the banks of the Bhágirathí; but the river has now completely altered its course. It used formerly to run behind the *Ballálí díghí* and the palace; but it has now dwindled in that part into an isolated *khál.* It now runs to the east of the ruins of the palace. The old Nadiyá was rent in twain by the Bhágirathí; at length the northern part has been swept away, whilst the southern part has been increased by accretions, and constitutes the new Nadiyá. Nadiyá was one of the capital cities of Bengal under the Hindú ráj; and continued to be so till A.D. 1203. Lakshmaníyá, the son of Lakshman, was the last Sen Rájá of Bengal, and ruled nominally for 80 years. He was distinguished for his love of justice. He was a posthumous child. Previous to his birth, the astrologers had predicted that, if the child should be born before a particular hour, his destiny would be an inglorious one, but if that event could be possibly postponed till the termination of the predicted hour, he should

enjoy a very long and prosperous reign. His brave mother forthwith issued instructions to her attendants, that without paying attention to her safety, they should use their best exertions to postpone her delivery. The result was the birth at a somewhat later hour, but the intrepid Ráni did not survive this experiment upon herself.

In the year above mentioned Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí marched with his troops from Bihár to Nadiyá. On approaching the environs of the city he concealed his troops in a dense *jungle*; and, escorted by only seventeen body-guards, entered the palace. On being challenged by the Rájá's sepoys, he informed them that he was an envoy from the Court of Dehli. His movements were managed with such celerity and secrecy, that his entrance into the palace was not suspected till he and his horsemen had passed the inner gates. Drawing their swords they slaughtered the royal attendants. The Rájá, who was then seated at breakfast, alarmed by the noise and cries of the household, made his escape from the palace, and in a small *dinghi* went down the river. The mass of the Muhammadan troops concealed in the forest, now advanced towards the city and took easy possession of it. Bakhtyár Khiljí gave up the palace to be plundered by his army; and then proceeded to Lakhnautí, or the ancient city of Gaur, the then capital of Bengal.

The Nadiyá family derives its descent directly from Bhattanáráyana, the chief of those five Bráhmans who had been imported from Kanauj by Adisura, King of Bengal, for the performance of certain purificatory rites.

The following were successively the chiefs of Nadiyá:—

Bhattanáráyana.	Kásinátha.
Nipu.	Ráma Samuddhára.
Haláyudha.	Durgádása, (Májmuát-dár Bhavánanda).
Harihara.	Srí Krishna.
Kandarpa.	Gopála.
Biswambhara.	Rághaba.
Narahari.	Rudraráya.
Náráyana.	Rámjíbana.
Priyankura.	Rám Krishna.
Dharmángara	Rámjíbana.
Tárápati.	Raghu Ráma.
Káma.	Krishna Chandra.
Biswanátha.	Siva Chandra.
Ráma Chandra.	Iswara Chandra.
Subuddhi.	Girísa Chandra.
Trilochana.	Srísa Chandra.
Kansári.	Satísa Chandra.
Shashthídása.	

We find several interesting particulars connected with the career of some of the above mentioned Rájás; but these are overlaid by tradition. Sifting the wheat from the chaff, we perceive that Bhattanáráyana built up his estate from the villages which Adisura had in part sold and in part granted to him. These villages were enjoyed by him exempt from taxation for twenty-four years. What is recorded by Sanskrit writers of the Rájás, commencing from Nipu, the son of Bhattanáráyana, to Káma, is very little to our purpose. They are said to have been wise and virtuous rulers; but it appears that their administrations were sterile of events. Biswanátha was the first Rájá who proceeded to Dehli, and was confirmed in the Ráj by Muhammad of Ghazní in consideration of an annual tribute. He made additions to his ancestral zamíndárís, by the purchase of Parganá Kámkádi and other properties. The next Rájá whose administration deserves to be chronicled was Kásinátha. He was the first of his race who met with the vicissitudes of fortune. During his government it happened, that from a troop of elephants which had been sent from the Rájá of Tripurá to Akbar, Emperor of Delhi, being his annual tribute, one large elephant escaped; and straying about in a great forest, broke into villages and alarmed their inhabitants. The Rájá of Nadiyá learning that this elephant had broken into one of his villages and done considerable mischief, hunted the animal to death. This circumstance having been reported to His Majesty, peremptory orders were issued to the Governor of Jámhágira to take the Rájá prisoner and send him up to Dehli.

Jámhágira, or more properly speaking Jahángíra, was the city of Dháká, founded by the Emperor Jahángír in 1608. Islám Khán was appointed the first Subahdár. It was the head-quarters of the Subahdárs of Bengal, representing the Emperor of Dehli, and exercising great influence over the Rájás of this province. To him the Fauzdárs of Murshidábád and Huglí were subordinate. The seat of the local Government was afterwards transferred from Dháká to Murshidábád; and the former city became a Fauzdárí, or the seat of a subordinate Fauzdár.

Resuming the thread of our narrative, we find that Kásinátha having received timely information of the proceedings of the Emperor, fled towards the banks of the Bhágirathí, but the army of the Governor followed and captured him. He was there put to death. His wife, who was with child, proceeded to live in the house of Harikrishna Samuddhára. Her child when born was named Ráma. He acquired much learning and became a great favourite with Harikrishna, owing to his many amiable qualities and his descent from an illustrious family. Harikrishna died, bequeathing to Ráma his little kingdom of Pátkábárí, which is supposed to have been situated between Plassey and Jalangí on

the banks of the river Jalangí. In consequence of Ráma being born in the house, and having inherited the kingdom of Samuddhára, he was called by the name of Ráma Samuddhára. His wife bore him four sons, called Durgádása, Jagadísa, Hariballabha, and Subuddhi. Durgádása, the eldest Ráj Kumár, was once sojourning on the banks of the river to witness sports and dances, when a Muhammadan chief arrived from Dehli in a large fleet and with a large retinue. His arrival was the signal for the stoppage of the dances and the disappearance of the spectators. Durgádása was the only person who maintained his place. The chief asked him: "Tell me, Bráhman, how many kros is it from here to the city known by the name of Huglí?" Durgádása gave the required information, at which the chief said to him,—"I am highly pleased with your fearlessness and other virtues; come with me then to the country of Huglí." Durgádása readily complied with his request, and accompanied him to Huglí, where he was appointed Kánúngo. Durgádása at first demurred to the appointment, and said,—"We are kings by inheritance, and know not how to serve others." The chief replied,—"Then I will write to the Sultán of Dehli that he grant you a title and a kingdom; but now do as I bid you." Durgádása obeyed this injunction and entered upon the duties of his office as Kánúngo. On the recommendation of his superior, the Emperor conferred on him, in due time, the title of Majmuádár Bhavánanda. Some time after he retired from the service, and built a palace at Ballabhapura; and having inherited the kingdom of his father, Rama Samuddhára, ruled for twenty years. His other brothers lived in happiness, each building a palace of his own, Hariballabha at Fathipur, Jagadís at Kodálgáchhi, and Subuddhi at Pátkábárí. The family originally lived in a palace in Parganá Bágná, constituting the largest zamíndárí of the Nadiyá ráj. But after Kásinátha paid the forfeit of his life for killing the elephant, his son Ráma, as we have seen, lived and ruled in Pátkábárí.

At this time, of all the contemporaneous Rájás, Pratápáditya, the chief of Yasohara or Jessor, was the most powerful. He had subdued or rather humbled eleven Rájás; Bengal being now supposed to have been divided into twelve principalities or large zamíndárís. He defied even the authority of the Emperor, refusing him tribute and vanquishing more than once the Mughal armies. The Sundarbans placed him for some time in an impregnable position, and enabled him to carry on a guerilla war. He was an usurper, having banished the rightful Rájá, his nephew Kachu Ráya. In spite of his adverse circumstances, Kachu Rái contrived to acquire a respectable knowledge of the Sástras, and the military art as then practised.

Fortified with this knowledge and relying upon his rights, he

proceeded to Dehli, for the purpose of moving the Emperor to recognise his claim to the Jessor ráj. On reference being made to the Subahdár of Jahángíra and the Fauzdár of Huglí, they reported favourably on the claim of Kachu Ráya. The Emperor, already enraged against Pratápáditya for his insolence and rebellion, determined to punish this refractory vassal for his usurpation, and appoint his nephew to the ráj. Accordingly he deputed his General Mánsingh to Jessor, for the purpose of bringing the rebel Rájá to his senses. The avenging Muhammadan army with their general arrived by boat at Chákdah, on the road to Jessor. But their arrival was the signal for the flight of all the neighbouring Rájás. Majmuádár Bhavánanda was the only Rájá who remained at his post. He paid his homage to the General, and offered a golden ring and other ornaments as his *nazar*, declaring—"Lord of great power! on your arrival all kings of this land have fled; only I, lord of a few villages, have remained here to see your Grace, the King of Justice; if you desire me, who am here to congratulate you, to do anything for you, be pleased but to order it." To this Mánsingh replied—"Well then, Majmuádár, make the necessary preparations for passing the river, that my soldiers may safely reach the opposite bank." "My Lord," answered the Majmuádár, "although I have but a small retinue, yet at the orders of your Grace all shall be performed." He then collected a large number of boats and transports, and led the whole army across the river. When Mánsingh himself had reached the opposite bank, he offered his cordial thanks to Majmuádár for helping the expedition. But at this time, the further march of his army was arrested by foul weather which lasted for a whole week. What with this untoward event and the shortness of rations, the army was nearly paralyzed; but Majmuádár became the Commissary General, and fed the army with his own stores. When the weather cleared up, Mánsingh thus addressed the Majmuádár: "Tell me after how many days or on what day can I arrive from here at the capital of Pratápáditya? and on which side is the entrance of the army practicable? Write it down accurately and give it to me." Majmuádár prepared and submitted the required statement. Mánsingh was much pleased with the information supplied to him, and addressed him thus: "Oh high-minded Majmuádár, when I return again from the subjection of Pratápáditya you shall utter a wish and I will certainly grant it. But come yourself along with me to the capital of Pratápáditya." Pratápáditya defended himself boldly, and after showing a great deal of courage, was overcome. His fort was stormed, and he was captured, pinioned and shut up in an iron cage to be taken up to Dehli; but he died on the way at Benares. Mánsingh remained in Bengal from 1589 to 1606. The

events here narrated took place between those years. To Majmuádár, Mánsingh said,—"I have been pleased by the zeal which you have manifested in this war; and you also saved the lives of my soldiers during the foul weather which lasted without interruption for seven days. Utter therefore any wish you please, and I will certainly fulfil it." Majmuádár then narrated his antecedents, informing Mánsingh of the flight of his grandfather Kásinátha, and his subsequent capture and violent death, and the settlement of his grandmother and father at Pátkábárí; and expressed a wish to be reinstated in his ancestral possessions. Mánsingh promised to further his petition, and took him up to Dehli. He then presented the Majmuádár to the Emperor Jahángír, and brought to his Majesty's notice the valuable services rendered by him in the expedition against Pratápáditya. His Majesty was much pleased with the conduct of Majmuádár; and in compliance with the recommendation of his general restored him to his ráj, and conferred on him the title of Mahárájá.

According to Bhárat Chandra, the author of *Annadá Mangal*, who flourished in the time of Rájá Krishna Chandra, Jahángír held an animated discussion with the Majmuádár on the comparative merits of the Muhammadan and Hindú religions. His Majesty dwelt on the evils of idolatry. He pointed out the absurdity of worshipping images of stone, wood, and clay, instead of the one true and living God. He condemned the law under which the Hindú women losing their husbands are precluded from re-marrying; and deplored their perpetual widowhood as unnatural and revolting. He also condemned the shaving of the beard as unnatural; and the expression of homage by prostration and lowering of the head as undignified. He characterised the Bráhman priests as a crafty tribe, doing one thing and teaching another. He lamented the future of the Hindús, who were wedded to a debasing and demoralizing idolatry; and inculcated that God was not incarnate but formless. The Majmuádár attempted a feeble and inconclusive reply, arguing that the the Puránas and the Kurán inculcated substantially the same cardinal doctrines; that whether God was incarnate or not, those who worshipped him were equally entitled to salvation; that all objects, whether stones or clay, were pervaded by the spirit of the Creator. The only remarkable idea to which Majmuádár gave utterance in the course of the discussion, was that there was not much to choose between Muhammadanism and Hinduism, but that the religion of the Firinghis (Europeans) was better than both, inasmuch as it recognised neither the right of circumcision practised by the Muhammadans, nor that of *Karnabedh* or ear-boring practised by the Hindús; but that it recognised only one God, ignored all distinctions of castes, and laid no restrictions on eating and drinking.

Majmuádár returned to his palace at Ballabhapura; and he took possession of the 14 Parganás which the farmán of Jahángír had awarded to him. He erected a palace in the city called Matiyári; and removed there because it was more centrical than Ballabhapura with reference to his newly acquired and more extended dominions. Matiyári is 69 miles from Calcutta, and is now a railway station. He also built another palace in the village called Dinliyá; and set up an image there.

At this time the Subahdár of Jahángíra began to cast longing eyes on the kingdom of the Majmuádár; and with a view to obtain the government of it, sent a messenger called Murád to call him into his presence. Majmuádár obeyed the summons and proceeded to Jahángíra, accompanied by his grandson, Gopíramana. On his arrival he was treacherously cast into prison. But his grandson so pleased the Subahdár by the exhibition of several proofs of his extraordinary physical prowess, that he persuaded His Excellency to liberate his grandfather. On his arrival at home, the Majmuádár manifested his gratitude to the gods by pújás and sacrifices.

After this the Majmuádár communicated to his three sons, Srí Krishna, Gopála, and Gobinda Ráma, his intention to divide his ráj among them. "Take my kingdom, I have divided it into equal shares." But the eldest son, Srí Krishna, objected. "No, the kingdom shall not be divided; to the eldest, according to custom, belongs the whole."— "You are very wise and learned," replied the Majmuádár angrily, "why do you not procure yourself another kingdom?" "If your Highness' feet permit me the observation," answered Srí Krishna, "what is there wonderful in that?" Fired by his ambition to win his way to a kingdom, he proceeded straight to Dehli and obtained with much difficulty an audience with the Emperor, to whom he communicated his circumstances and wishes. His Majesty, pleased with his self-reliance and enterprise, conferred on him a farmán assigning over the government of two valuable Parganás, Khosádaha and Ukhada. Some time after he acquired this estate, he returned home and delighted his old father with the recital of the whole story. After the death of the Majmuádár, Gopála and Gobinda Ráma governed the divided ráj of their father, and Srí Krishna ruled over the Parganás he had gained for himself. Srí Krishna died childless of small-pox; his brother Gopála, too, after seven years, was gathered to his fathers. He was succeeded by his son Rághaba, who erected in the village called Reui a large residence, containing magnificent palaces and a seraglio. Rághaba also excavated an immense lake, and celebrated its dedication to Siva by a grand festival.

There were among the host of invited guests, learned pandits from Anga, Banga, Kási and Kánchi. There were Rájás and Ráj Kumárs,

Mantris and ministers from various districts. There were streams of ghee and milk and honey and spirituous liquors for the entertainment of the guests. There were hills of wheat and barley, rice and peas. These grand preparations elicited the applause of the assembled guests.

Rághaba was scrupulously punctual in the payment of the tribute to the Emperor; and his punctuality was rewarded by a donation of elephants from His Majesty.

Rághaba was succeeded by his son Rudraráya, whose career was eventful. Rudraráya erected at Navadwípa a temple dedicated to Siva. He changed the name of the place Reui, where his father had built a royal residence, into (Kishnaghur) Krishnanagar, in honour of Krishna. He also constructed a canal extending northward and southward, and connected it with the moat surrounding Krishnanagar. The Emperor having heard of his public spirit and public works, conferred upon him by farmán the government over the two *Parganás* Khari and Juri; and as a token of further favour confirmed his title of Mahárájá. His Majesty further accorded to him the permission which none of his predecessors, and in fact no other Rájá of Bengal had been able to obtain, to erect upon his palace a story which is called Kangarh or a turret; and made a donation of arrows, flags and drums. In acknowledgment of these favours, the Mahárájá sent to the Emperor a *nazar* of 1,000 head of cattle, a mass of gold equal to his own weight, and other valuable gifts.

Basking in the sunshine of imperial favour, the Mahárájá did not think it worth his while to conciliate the Governor of Jahángíra or to send him tribute. The Governor being highly irritated at his conduct, wrote to the Fauzdárs of Murshidábád and Huglí and other subordinate authorities, to inform them that Rudraráya affecting equality with himself would neither pay the tribute nor obey his orders, and he ordered that they must contrive to take him prisoner and send him to his city. In compliance with these orders Rudraráya was enticed by some stratagem to the vicinity of Huglí, and thence brought to Jahángíra. Rudraráya paid the Subahdár his respects, and carefully observed the etiquette due to the Nawáb, thereby disarming his anger. His Excellency was much pleased with him, and showed him great attention. He obtained his permission to return home. He brought with him from Jahángíra an architect named Alana Khán, by whose aid he erected a new palace at Krishnanagar. He also built a separate nách-ghar or concert-hall; and also a pilkháná, or stables for his elephants and horses. But the most useful public work erected by him was a broad and high causeway between Krishnanagar and Sántipur, connecting his new capital with one of the most populous towns and celebrated cloth marts of his ráj. The grave of Alana Khán is still to be found in Krishnanagar

Chauk. He himself is canonised, and is generally called Allaldastur Pír. Though fond of magnificent buildings, yet the Mahárájá lived a simple and primitive life. His personal wants were few, but his donations were many and large. He governed his ráj with tolerable justice and impartiality, tempered of course by his recognition of the prescriptive rights and privileges of the Bráhmanical class. He was succeeded by his son Rámjíbana. The latter having incurred the displeasure of the Fauzdár of Jahángíra, was displaced in the ráj by his brother Ráma Krishna, who had a long and prosperous reign. During his time, the Rájá of Bardwán plundered the capital of Sobhá Singh, Rájá of Chetuyá. The latter resenting this attack, and being resolved to revenge himself, led his army through a wood by an unknown route, passed the river Dámodar and took up his station before Bardwán. He attacked the Bardwán chief and slew him, and established his authority over Bardwán. Jagadráma, the son of the Rájá of Bardwán, took refuge in the court of the Rájá of Nadiyá. Emboldened by his success and strengthened by the co-operation of Rahman Khán of Orissa and the Marhattás, Sobhá Singh sent his generals against several royal cities for the purpose of undermining the authority of the sovereign of Dehli in Bengal. Aurangzeb, who then reigned at Dehli, was greatly enraged by the intelligence of the conquest of Bardwán by Sobhá Singh. He immediately organised an expedition for the purpose of punishing the rebel Rájá of Chetuyá; and placed at its head his grandson Azim-us-Shan. When the Mughal army arrived at Murshidábád, news reached them of the death of Sobhá Singh. He was killed while in a state of drunkenness by the daughter of Krishna Ráma, the late Rájá of Bardwán, in defence of her honour. Upon this Himmat Singh, the younger brother of Sobhá Singh, came with a great army to Bardwán, and began to plunder that city as his brother had done. He also attacked Ráma Krishna, the Rájá of Nadiyá, but was defeated. At this time Prince Azim-us-Shan arrived from Murshidábád at Plassey. Having heard there of the outrages committed by Himmat Singh, he hastened with his army to Chetuyá (perhaps the modern Chitor Barda in Midnapur), where he attacked Himmat Singh and defeated him. The prince is said to have used in the battle fire-arms called Jelala or Jinjal, a sort of musket fixed on a swivel. Prince Azim-us-Shan remained for some time in Bengal, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Bardwán and other districts. All the Rájás of Bengal waited upon and paid homage to His Highness, but most of them came attended with only a few followers, not daring to show their wealth. Ráma Krishna came surrounded by a stately retinue, on which the prince declared: "These are no princes, but offspring of low families,

else they would have been attended by retinues. But prince Ráma Krishna is the offspring of a great family, for he alone has a stately retinue, comparable to my own; he himself too appears like a second Kandarpa and shines before one like the sun, and is like Vrihaspati in his spirit; he is surrounded by numerous soldiers, waited upon by hosts of ministers, who themselves are honoured by retinues in splendid carriages. Thus he is a man gladdening the eyes of such a person as I am, and certainly the first among the princes of Gaur and those of other countries." The result of this interview was the growth of a great intimacy between the prince and the rájá. The prince repeatedly declared the great pleasure he had derived from his intercourse with Ráma Krishna, and expressed the high opinion he had formed of his ability and character. The prince having settled the affairs of Bardwán and the neigbouring districts, proceeded to Jahángíra, where he resided for some time. While he was at Jahángíra, the prince reported to his grandfather the valuable services rendered by Ráma Krishna.

Jagat Seth, the Rothschild of India, paid a visit at this time to Ráma Krishna at Nadiyá. He remained for a month and was comfortably lodged and sumptuously entertained at Krishnanagar.

The family of Jagat Seth requires some mention here. The family and firm of Jagat Seth were the creditors of kings and nawábs, and subsequently of the Honourable East India Company. In consequence of the immensity of their transactions and the magnitude of the loans granted by them, the title of Jagat Seth or the Banker of the World was conferred on the representative of the family by the Emperor of Dehli. The following extract from the proceedings of the Council, dated 10th March 1760, will show the connexion of Jagat Seth with the Honourable East India Company.

" Received a letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca, under date the 5th instant, requesting an immediate supply of money, or to permit them to take up money from Jagat Seth's house, otherwise the Company's investment will be at a stand, their treasury being reduced so low that they have not sufficient for the monthly expenses."

Ráma Krihsna administered the affairs of the Nadiyá ráj for a long time, living happily at the new capital Krishnanagar, and receiving from the Prince Azim-us-Shan valuable support in the discharge of his duties. He also lived on terms of amity with Vada Sáhib, the then Governor of the English settlement at Calcutta; the latter in token of his regard for the Rájá placed at his disposal a garrison of 2,500 soldiers. His was a stirring and aggressive nature. A violent difference having arisen between Ráma Krishna and the Rájá of Yasohara (Jessor) in regard to the bound-

aries of certain villages, he marched to Yasohara and vanquished the Rájá. This achievement, as well as the favour he enjoyed at the court of Dehli, established his power on a solid foundation, enhancing his influence over the neighbouring Rájás, and securing him against the extortions and oppressions of the Subahdár. Jafar Khán, the then Subahdár, being unable to do him an injury, allured him to Jahángíra, where by treachery he was closely confined. He died in prison of small-pox. The news of his death very much grieved Azim-us-Shan, who instructed Jafar Khán to confer the ráj on the lineal descendant of Ráma Krishna. His Highness wrote to the Subahdár to ask if there was a son, a foster-son, a grandson, or any such relation of Ráma Krishna, in order that the ráj should be conferred on him. Jafar Khán replying that there was no such relation, the prince ordered,—"Then give it to any minister of Ráma Krishna who is fit for the government and who will protect the wife and family of Ráma Krishna." Jafar Khán replied,—"Your Highness, there is no such minister; Ráma Krishna's elder brother, however, Prince Rámjíbana, lives in prison here. If you command, I will commit the kingdom to him." No other alternative being left to him, the prince sanctioned the proposal of Jafar Khán. Rámjíbana was thus entrusted with the ráj for a second time. He had of course to pay the full price for the favour thus shown by Jafar Khán. He was fond of poetry, and especially of the drama. He patronised the *nátaks*, and his court was frequently enlivened by dramatic performances. He had a son, Raghu Ráma, who was endowed with a benevolent heart and a genius for warlike pursuits. He rendered a signal service to Jafar Khán by assisting his General, Láhuri-malla, in vanquishing the army of the Rájá of Rájsháhi; who in consequence of a quarrel with the Subahdár had taken up his position with a considerable force near the village of Vírakáti. In recognition of this service, his father, Rámjíbana, who had been a second time imprisoned by Jafar Khán, not at Jahángíra but at Murshidábád, his new head-quarters, was liberated. Raghu Ráma during the life-time of his father was blessed with a son of whom a glorious future was predicted. When the child had reached the age of six months, Rámjíbana celebrated with great *éclat* his *Annaprásan*, or the ceremony of feeding him with rice for the first time. He invited learned pandits and powerful rájás from Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Kási, Kánchi, and the adjacent provinces. The ceremony is thus described by the author of *Kshitísa-bansábali charitam.* "For their dwelling, he built a camp of a *kros* in length and half a *kros* in breadth, which was constructed of cloth and the like, resplendent with ranges of various palaces, adorned with rows of white, blue, yellow, and other flags, and surrounded by a fence likewise of

cloth and similar materials. There he deposited stores of the daintiest provisions and appointed a number of ministers to cater for the entertainment of the assembled princes and Bráhmans, and also for those of various castes who had come without being invited to witness the feast. There were provided stores of various and abundant provisions; there were many streams of curdled and fresh milk, clarified butter, honey and the like, and innumerable heaps of beans, peas, and similar articles; and the piles of rice and such things, how could they be counted? Then the day before the ceremony, having led the assembled Bráhmans and princes with suitable demonstrations of reverence into the erected dwelling-place, he entertained them with the provisions which he had prepared; the next day when they were sitting in the assembly, he began the ceremony at the auspicious rise of the planets as announced by the astronomers. Then commenced a feast, at whose noise and splendour the earth was astonished. After this, hosts of Bráhmans and princes, satisfied with presents and honours, rejoiced the child with prayers for his happiness; such as, that he might rule over the earth for a long time, endowed with manifold virtues and free from troubles; that in whatever he wished to perform, the highest goddess might give him success—and more the like." The child whose *Annaprásan* was celebrated with such splendour was named at that ceremony Krishna Chandra.

Rámjibana was at this time summoned by Jafar Khán to Murshidábád to settle some account of the tribute due from him; where he died.

Rámjíbana was succeeded by his already celebrated son Raghu Ráma. Having governed the ráj for two years at Krishnanagar, he was arrested by orders of Jafar Khán, and was carried to Murshidábád and was kept there in confinement. He was a very beneficent man, and dispensed his charities from the jail. After some time, he was released and allowed to resume the management of the ráj. He, however, survived his liberation for only four months. He died on the banks of the Bhágirathí in 1728.

The same year Krishna Chandra was anointed as Mahárájá.

The administration of Rájá Krishna Chandra marks a new era in the annals of the Nadiyá ráj; but before we dwell on it, we desire to glance at the social, intellectual, and industrial condition of the ráj.

The Nadiyá ráj, originally formed, as we have already observed, out of the few villages of Adisura, gradually extended at this time into an immense province. It was bounded on the north by Murshidábád, on the south by the Bay of Bengal, on the east by Dhulapura, and on the west by the Bhágirathí. It numbered

84 Parganás, among which may be mentioned Khari, Juri, Okherá, Calcutta, Balandá, Dhulapura, Sántipur, Shaistá Khán, and Pátkábárí. Parganá Calcutta embraced all the villages of the 24-Parganás southward, and a portion of Huglí northward.

The capital of the lineal descendants of Bhattanáráyana, Nadiyá, has always maintained its pre-eminence as the Oxford of this province. The population was at the time of the old Rájás very mixed; and comprised both Muhammadans and Hindús. Among the Hindús, the Bráhmanical element predominated; many of the Bráhmans being devoted to literature and philosophy, and leading the lives of scholars. The climate of Nadiyá was healthy, and the necessaries and accessories of life were few and primitive. The soil was fertile, and its products sufficed for the wants of the inhabitants. Thus blessed with abundance and freed from the incessant search after comfort and luxury which is the curse of modern civilisation, it is no wonder that the upper classes should have leisure to pursue intellectual avocations. We can therefore have no difficulty in imagining the free and simple life lived by the pandits, and understanding how from an early age their minds were cultivated. Among them may be mentioned several profound pandits who have shed lustre on their age and country. Nyáya Sástra or logic, and Smriti or jurisprudence, have been always sedulously and successfully cultivated. Soon after the foundation of Nadiyá, Abdihodh Yogí migrated there from the Upper Provinces and settled on the banks of the Bhágirathí. He was the first to set up a school of logic, for the cultivation of which the city has since been famous. His principal disciples were Sankar Tarkabágís and Baypti Siromani, both of whom wrote several works on logic.

Vásu Deva Sárbwabhauma was the founder of another *chatuspátí*, or regular school for logic, in the village of Vidyánagara in the vicinity of Nadiyá. Of the numerous students who matriculated at the *chatuspátí*, the most distinguished were Raghu Ráma and Raghunátha Siromani.

Raghu Ráma is to Bengal what Manu was to ancient India. His commentaries have earned for him a conspicuous place among Hindú jurisconsults. Raghunátha Siromani has left a commentary on the Gautama Sutra which for profound knowledge of Nyáya and the subtlety of dialectics, and for felicity of illustration, challenges the admiration of the oriental world. In truth Nadiyá was the focus of intellectual development, the land of the Naiyáiks who reasoned and argued on every conceivable topic, the abode of astronomers whose panjikás or almanacs still regulate the festivals and *pújás* and the daily domestic concerns of the Hindús.

Raghunátha was the author of another work, exposing the errors of the Chintámani, a standard treatise on the Nyáya Sás-

tras written by Ganes Upádhyáya. The work is entitled *Dídhiti*, or "a ray of light." Professing to be a critique and a commentary on Chintámani, it is one of the most exhaustive treatises on the Nyáya Sástras. Raghunátha proceeded to Mithilá, and held a literary controversy with the pandits there. He carried away the palm; and his intellectual victory conferred on Nadiyá the power of bestowing degrees on successful students. It gave an unprecedented impetus to the progress of philosophical studies. Students flocked there from all parts of the country. Several of them ripened into profound and distinguished pandits, and the works produced by them are considered of the highest authority. Among these works may be mentioned the *Subdasaktiprakásiká* by Jagadís Tarkálankár, the *Saktipád* and *Muktipád* by Gadádhar Bhattáchárjya, and the annotations on Siromani by Jagadís and by Gadádhar, and the *Siddhanta Muktábali* of Viswanátha Nyáyapanchánan.

There arose in Nadiyá in the beginning of the 16th century, a reformer who was destined to wield immense influence on the masses. Chaitanya flourished during the time of Kásinátha, and when Sayyid Husain Sharíf of Mecca reigned in Gaur under the title of Sultán Ala-ud-dín Husain Sháh Sharíf of Mecca. It was when Luther was thundering against the indulgences and other abuses of the Christian Church, that Chaitanya preached a new doctrine. That doctrine was the efficacy of Bhakti or faith as contradistinguished from works. It was an innovation on the Vedic system, which inculcates specific religious duties and the performance of ceremonies and acts. This Bengáli reformer taught that all men are capable of participating in the sentiments of faith and devotion, and that the members of all játis or castes become pure by such sentiments. He maintained the pre-eminence of faith over caste. The mercy of God was according to him boundless, and not circumscribed by the restrictions of tribe and family. He declared that 'Krishna was Paramátma or the Supreme Spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation. In his capacity of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, he is Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva.' Chaitanya became the founder of the largest religious sect in this country, mustering nine to ten millions strong, and fortified by an elaborate organization. Its disciples are to be found in almost every village in Bengal. They include some of the wealthiest and most influential families, as well as a host of poor and obscure men. Having obtained the sympathy and support of a large class, Chaitanya now openly declared it was his mission to go forth and preach the love of Krishna as the one thing needful for salvation. But the Krishna of Chaitanya was not the son of Debakí, the intended victim of his uncle the tyrant Kansa, the sojourner in Brindában, the

companion of cowherds, the lover of Rádhá, the favourite of milk-maids and flower women, the terror of husbands, and afterwards the conqueror of Kansa and King of Dwárká; but the Creator of the universe, and the God of truth, justice, mercy, and love. His Krishna was the great and original Spirit, the Author of creation and the Giver of all good. The age of Kásinátha and his successors was eminently favourable to the reception of the religious tenets he offered to it. The country had undergone great political and social changes. The character of the Hindús had been moulded during some time by Muhammadan conquest, Muhammadan intercourse, Muhammadan laws, and Muhammadan literature. Their minds were at this time fermenting with religious longings to which the doctrine of *Bhakti* inculcated by Chaitanya answered in many ways. A more practical religion than Vedantism, and a purer religion than *Bhavánism*, was eagerly looked for. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the religion of Chaitanya soon took root in Nadiyá, which reverberated with the name of Krishna. Young men and old men of that city gathered round him; among them was Adaitanandan, who was to him what the Baptist had been to the greatest religious reformer. He addressed them all in a tone of authority and affection, telling them that Krishna was the Saviour, and that they must love him with all their hearts and with all their souls. His preaching was generally heralded by convulsions and fainting fits. This phenomenon was called by his disciples *Pránpraláp*, and continued for hours. During its continuance he forgot all mundane affairs and exclaimed ever and anon Krishna! Krishna! This ecstatic state of *Pránpraláp* was attended with mystic sighs and songs of *Haribol*. It was contagious among his disciples and became a conspicuous trait of the new sect. Chaitanya was a mystic. Eating but little and caring nothing for the animal man, he was able to maintain a state of continued excitement. This cerebral and muscular debility contributed in no inconsiderable degree to bring about those alternations of deep sorrow and intense joy, which told so much upon his audience and by means of which he swayed tens of thousands. Chaitanya thought or rather felt that the first and greatest of all works was faith in Krishna. From this all other works must spring. He announced this as a mighty message of joy—a message that thrilled through the hearts of his hearers. He preached that the *Chandála* whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be reverenced by the wise, and not the unfailing expounder of the Veda! Again, "the teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple. The faithful *Chandála* enjoys my friendship, to him let it be given, and from him be received; let him be reverenced even as I am reverenced." This doctrine was, we repeat, the efficacy of *Bhakti* or faith as contradistinguished from works.

Religious rites and ceremonies were in the opinion of Chaitanya not essentially important; but the appreciation of them by the generality of mankind, and their adaptability to the spread of religious tenets, were fully realised by him. With a view to perpetuate the distinctiveness of his sect and society, and establish an indissoluble bond of union, he insisted on his followers submitting to the initiatory rite of the Mantra. It consisted in the Guru or spiritual guide whispering in the ears of the Sishya (disciple) the mystic words "kling Krishna." Another observance enforced by Chaitanya among his followers was the eating of the *prasád* by them together. A common meal has always been understood to cement and ratify relations of friendship. The brotherhood of Vaishnavas was symbolized in the *prasád*. It was a communion where all the followers, without distinctions of caste, were admitted on equal terms. There was the learned Naiyáik as well as the illiterate *chásá*, the Muhammadan Ráis as well as the Muhammadan Mahut, the Kulin Bráhman and the Kulin Káyastha as well as the aboriginal Bágdi and the excommunicated *Chandál*, all participating in consecrated rice and *dál* and *málpua*. It was a manifestation of an intimate fellowship between those who shared in this common meal. It is now manifest that one of the distinguishing features of Chaitanya's theocracy was the universal character of the sect he founded. That sect was recruited from all classes of the Hindú as well as the Muhammadan community. No one who desired to enter was refused. To all who knocked at the door admittance was granted. Chaitanya kept an open house and his guests represented all classes, not only of society but of humanity. Chaitanya was most childlike in disposition and character. He was essentially guileless and simple-minded, but a most large-hearted man; and it was in his preaching that he poured out the wealth of that heart. He became a king of men on the Bedi or pulpit which constituted his throne. His sermons were to the Hindús of Bengal, what those of Savonarola were to the Florentines. Like the Italian reformer he was fervid and forcible.

Chaitanya was fond of travelling and became an itinerant preacher. In the course of his peregrinations he came to Rámkálí, situated in the suburbs of Gaur, the then capital of Bengal. He delivered there a magnificent sermon. Striking the harp and hymning the praise of Krishna, he touched a chord which resounded and vibrated through Bengal. His utterances were aglow with intense fervour. Thousands of people came to hear him, and the sensation he made was so great as to attract the attention of the King Sayyid Husain, who deputed an officer to enquire into the matter. The officer reported that the noise had been made by a Sanyásí, and that it was not worth while taking further notice of the matter

But he continued to preach, and all classes of men from all parts of the great city crowded to Rámkálí. Among those who had come to hear him preach were two Muhammadan brothers, Dabir and Khash, holding high employ in the Court of Gaur. They were in fact ministers of Sayyid Husain and enjoyed his entire confidence. They were enraptured with the eloquence of Chaitanya, and became converts to the doctrine of *Bhakti;* they longed to see him in private, and learn at his feet the tenets of the new faith. Accordingly they went to his cottage at midnight and thus addressed him: "Purifier of the fallen, low in descent and occupation, we are afraid of speaking our minds to thee. Saviour of Jagái and Mádhái, have mercy on us. Of Mlechchha descent, these sinners are incomparably more odious than those lordly Bráhmans of Nadiyá. Our race has sinned greatly against cows and Bráhmans. We are dwarfs standing on tiptoe to catch the moon. Stoop in mercy towards us." Chaitanya cordially received them and assured them of their salvation. "Krishna will save you—henceforth you shall be known to the world under the names of Rup and Sanátan." The reception of two Muhammadan nobles evinced a moral courage of no common order; which, while it showed Chaitanya's deep conviction of the purity and popularity of his faith, afforded conclusive evidence of his extraordinary boldness in disregarding the injunctions of caste and race, and his intention to build religion on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It must be remembered that the convert brothers were members of a court which was intolerant of Hindúism, and served a king who, claiming as he did, direct descent from the Prophet, was particularly aggressive against its doctrines. This act, therefore, was calculated to enlist against the reformer, not only the active antagonism of the king and the court of Bengal, but the hostility of the Hindús who had been accustomed to regard the Muhammadans as Mlechchhas, association with whom, in a Hindú religious point of view, is contamination. He, however, fully expected his disciples to cast aside all antiquated prejudices; and above all, and beyond all, to have faith, which he rightfully applied as the true test of training in Vaishnavism. He was emphatically what the Germans call an epoch-making man; representing some of the best elements of Hindú thought and Hindú character, and illustrating in himself the strength and weakness of Hindú theology. His object was grandly catholic. It was to rebuild Hindú society from its foundation, to exterminate priestcraft, to eradicate the evils of caste, to introduce religious toleration, to assert the right of equality of men, and to establish the relations of his fellow-beings on the principle of a universal brotherhood. A fanatic and a mystic, Chaitanya never deviated from his appointed course; and the immense influence he had

acquired over the hearts of his followers, he applied to the furtherance of no personal objects, but of that religion to which he had consecrated his life and his energies.

The Nadiyá ráj like the rest of Bengal is essentially an agricultural country. Rice has always been, and still is, its staple product. But the rice lands fetched till lately a very small price. The rent of a bighá was in the time of the old Rájás only two annas; it afterwards increased to annas 5-3, a rate that generally obtained till the case of James Hills *vs.* Iswara Ghosh was decided by a Full Bench of the Appellate Side of the High Court under Act X. of 1859. The result of the decision was the enhancement of rent from annas 5-3 to 14 annas and odd pie. Besides rice, sugarcane, and tobacco, the cereals, as well as pulses, are extensively cultivated. The average rent of sugarcane lands is Rs. 2-8 per bighá, and that of tobacco lands Rs. 2. The maximum jamá of máskalái and mug, gram and sessamum lands is one rupee per bighá.

Nadiyá contests with Jessor the palm of growing the best indigo. Both these districts may be called the great indigo districts. Soon after 1782, indigo planting was undertaken as an experimental enterprise and met with complete success. But the exposure by the press and the Indigo Commission, of the unnatural system on which the cultivation and manufacture of indigo were founded, have led to its downfall. The principal marts of the Nadiyá Ráj are Hánskháli, Krishnaganj, Nadanghát, and Sántipur. Hánskháli is the great emporium of gram as well as linseed and tobacco. Nadanghát is the great rice mart of the district. Sántipur is the home of jewellers, goldsmiths, braziers, tailors and clothiers. It is noted for the manufacture of fine cloths; and ranks in this respect second only to the city of Dháká. The Sántipur dhutis and chadars are highly prized by wealthy natives, and are imported into every city and town of Bengal. The manufacture of cotton fabrics attracted the great attention of Government. Factories were erected and gomastahs appointed by the Calcutta Council, which used to export largely the fabrics to the Court of Directors. Nadiyá itself is noted for pottery and modelling. The clay figures of Nadiyá are lifelike and quite as graceful and perfect of their kind as the ivory figures of Murshidábád. Ghurni and Ulá like Nadiyá are famous for modelling clay.

In 1770 a terrible famine broke out in Nadiyá, decimating the population and throwing the lands out of cultivation. It caused an immediate and inordinate fall of rents. The result was the ráj fell into arrears, and its resources did not recover their elasticity till after several years.

One of the first acts of the Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráya was the celebration of *yajnas*, or festivals called *Aginhotra* and

Báj-peya. He spent twenty lákhs of rupees in the ceremony. Learned pandits from different parts of Bengal and from Benares came by invitation to assist in the performance of the *yajnas.* They were rewarded with valuable presents according to their respective ranks; and in return for the same, as well as for the recognition of the merits supposed to inhere in the performance of the *yajnas*, they conferred upon him the title of *Aginhotri Bájpeí Srímán Mahárâj Rájendra Krishna Chandra Ráya.*

He was fond of sport and delighted in hunting, being a capital rider and a splendid shot. On one occasion he organised a large hunting expedition and went in pursuit of game to a place now known as *Sibnibás.* He was so struck with the beauty of the place and its pleasant situation on the banks of the river, that he built a palace there for his occasional residence. He called the place the *Sibnibás Rájbárí*, and the river *Kankaná.* He established in connection with the palace an asylum for the infirm and the aged poor, and also several *páthsálás* and *tols* for the benefit of Sanskrit scholars.

Krishna Chandra is described in the *Annadá Mangal* as the patron of the four *Samájs, viz.*, Nadiyá, Kumárhatta, Sántipur, and Bhátpárá, all of which towns were noted for learning, and as the seats of scholars. In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, he fixed a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from a distance to study in the *tols* of Nadiyá. This allowance was perpetuated by his grandson Iswara Chandra, who made arrangements with the Government for its punctual payment. The sum is paid every month from the collectorate of Nadiyá. The munificent patronage accorded by him to various branches of learning constituted the glory of his administration, and has done most to immortalise it. He not only made princely donations to distinguished Pandits, but gave *lákhráj* or rent-free lands for the support of *Chattuspátís.* He gave some lakhs of rent-free bighás to learned Bráhmans. There is a Bengáli proverb still prevalent in the country, that one who does not possess Krishna Chandra's gift is not a genuine Bráhman. The custom of inviting and giving pecuniary presents to learned Bráhmans on occasions of *Sráddhas*, marriages, &c., received a great impetus from him. Among the Pandits who flourished in his Court may be mentioned Srikantha, Kamalákánta, Balaráma, Sankara, Debala, Madhu, Sudana. The other literary personages that flourished under his patronage were Ráma Prasád Sen, a Sanskrit scholar, Bhumeswar Vidyálankár, an eminent poet, Saran Tarkálankár, a Naiyáik or logician, and Anukula Báchaspati, a great astronomer. The Naiyáik Kálidás Siddhwánta was the presiding Pandit of the Court.

Govinda Ráma Ráya of Sugandhya in Huglí was the physician-in-chief, and was well versed in *Charak.* A distinguished Tántrik who lived in his time, was Krishnánanda Sárbwabhauma. He was the author of *Tantrasára.* He was the first to celebrate the Kálí pújá, and to establish the custom of illuminating the streets and houses on the night of the pújá, a custom that has now extended all over India. He was a mystic, and owing to his proficiency in *tantra,* he was called Agambágís, or the expounder of the *tantras.*

Krishna Chandra himself established the festival called the *Jagadhátri* Pújá. It takes place generally in the month of October, and lasts for one day and night.

Of the wits and humourists who enlivened the Court of Krishna Chandra, Gopál Pál, commonly called Gopál Bhár, was the principal. He was a *Kumár* or potter by caste, and was a native of Nadiyá. Some say he was a *Napit* or of the barber caste. He was the privileged buffoon of the Mahárájá, and was entitled to take any liberties with him. His caustic and brilliant wit often convulsed the Court with laughter. Like Sir John Falstaff, rather than Don Quixote, he was not only a merry man, but the cause of merriment in others. His jokes were often coarse and caustic. We refrain from giving any specimen, because their point would evaporate in the process of translation. Gopál's riotous overflow of spirits, his keenness of observation and insight into the weaknesses of men, and his unlimited faculty of fun, rendered him a universal favourite. Muktá Ráma Mukharji, a relative of the Mahárájá, and a *Kulin* of the first water, was another privileged jester. The repartees of Mukharji were trenchant and telling. Himself a mirth-loving man, the Mahárájá was popular among his courtiers for his broad kindly humour, and his honest and large-hearted appreciation of what was witty or clever or learned in others.

Bhárat Chandra Ráya was one of the brightest ornaments of the Court of Krishna Chandra. He was the son of Rájendranárayan Ráya, who was a respectable and wealthy man and the Zamíndár of Parganá Bhursut. The family was that of the Mukharjis; but in consideration of their position and influence, they were called *Ráyas.* He was a precocious child, and mastered the mysteries of *Sankshiptasára* at the age of fourteen. His fondness for Sanskrit studies displeased his relations, who naturally thought that an acquaintance with Muhammadan literature was a better passport to wealth and distinction than the Vedas and Puránas. Smarting under their displeasure he commenced the study of the Persian language, and soon made fair progress in it. About this time the mother of Mahárájá Kirtti Chandra of Bardwán having deprived his father of his landed

and other estates, Bhárat Chandra proceeded to Gházípur, and continued to pursue his studies under difficulties. He afterwards sought and obtained the protection and patronage of Indranáráyan, the Díwán of the French settlement at Chandernagar, who recommended him to Rájá Krishna Chandra. Bhárat Chandra was undoubtedly the first who improved and ennobled the Bengáli language by rendering it the medium of elegant and beautiful poetical composition. No doubt Kabi Kankan had preceded him, and his *Chandí* may be said to be the first Bengáli poem; but in wealth of language, in suavity of style and felicity of illustration, it is not to be compared to the *Annadá Mangal* and its episode *Vidya-sundar*. Bhárat Chandra at first found great difficulty in embodying in Bengálí his ideas on various subjects. He found it inadequate to the expression of nice and subtle distinctions. He met here the same obstacle which Sir James Mackintosh says "stood in the way of Lucretius and Cicero when they began to translate the subtle philosophy of Greece into their narrow and barren tongue; and are always felt by the philosopher when he struggles to express with the necessary discrimination his abstruse reasoning in words, which, though those of his own language, he must take from the mouths of persons to whom his distinctions would be without a meaning." But he obviated these difficulties by the introduction into it of expressive Sanskrit words. The same plan was followed by Rámmohan Ráya in his translations of the *Upanishads* and religious tracts; and also by the editors of the *Tatwabáhiní-Patriká*. To their exertions, therefore, we are largely indebted for the improvement of the Bengáli language. It is an admixture with, and not a severance from, Sanskrit that has contributed to the improvement of the Bengali. The elimination of the Sanskrit would only "bastardise" and impoverish the vernacular language of this province.

Bhárat Chandra was endowed with several attributes of the true poet. He had not only an originating power. His imagination was not merely a realising conception, but also a creative faculty which could grasp the past and the present as well as the future. His Vidya and Sundar are living portraits of lovers. The former is endowed with manly strength and manly beauty, and the latter is a lovely and loveable being. The poem *Vidya-sundar* is still the most popular in Bengal, and is acted as a drama in every part of the country. The variety and vicissitudes of passion, and the knowledge of human nature displayed in it, happily illustrate the genius of the dramatist.

The political condition of Bengal during the time of Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráya was extremely critical and unsatisfactory. it was complicated by the animosities and dissensions of the subahdárs and their principal officers, arising from the tyranny

of the former, and culminating in civil wars. It was further complicated by incessant warfare waged by the Mahrattás. The evils attending this state of things were the destruction of crops and the consequent scarcity of grain, the enhancement of the wages of labour, the depression of foreign and inland trade, and the prevalence of universal oppression.

In A.D. 1739, Sarfráz Khán was Subahdár of Bengal. His oppression had alienated from him his chief officers and the leading noblemen of the country. Among the former were the Topkháná Dárogá and Hájí Hamit, brothers of Alí Vardí Khán, Governor of Patna, and Alam Chánd. Among the latter was Fáthi Chánd, who had received from Aurungzeb the title of Jagat Seth, and who was esteemed the greatest banker and the most opulent subject in India. In him patriotism or the sense of the country being misgoverned, was intensified by a private wrong perpetrated by Sarfráz Khán. He had about this time married his grandson, Mahtáb Ráya, to a most handsome girl. The fame of her exquisite beauty having reached the ear of Sarfráz Khán, he longed for the possession of her person. He sent for Jagat Seth and demanded a sight of her. The Seth remonstrated against his demand as a gross violation of his honour and caste; but Sarfráz Khán insisted on committing this outrage. She was carried *vi et armis* to the palace of the Subahdár at night, and was sent back after a few hours. This indignity rankled in the heart of Jagat Seth; and his immense family influence was exercised with a view to the dethronement of Sarfráz Khán. He was joined in this project by Hem Chánd and Hájí Hamit; the latter wanting not only to get rid of the tyrant but to place his brother, Alí Vardí Khán, on the *masnad*. The triumvirate arrived at the resolution "that none could be secure in their lives, honour, or property whilst Sarfráz Khán remained invested with the Subahdárship." They further resolved "that Alí Várdi Khán was the only one capable of rescuing the provinces from apparent and inevitable ruin; and that he should be immediately advised of their sentiments, and entreated to concur with their proposal by preparing for a speedy march into Bengal, to take upon him the government."

Hájí proceeded to meet his brother at Patna; and represented to him the misgovernment of Sarfráz Khán, and the facility with which he might assume the whole Subahdárí. Alí Vardí departed from Patna at the latter end of the year 1741, at the head of about 30,000 horse and foot, leaving his brother Hájí as Deputy Governor of Bengal. But the expedition of Alí Vardí Khán had well-nigh failed, owing to non-payment of arrears of salary long due to his officers and men, if two opulent merchants of Patna, *viz.*, Umá Chánd and Dip Chánd, had not come forward

to his assistance. Sarfráz Khán, who had been lulled to security by the misrepresentation of his affairs, was roused to action by the approach of the troops of Alí Vardí Khán. He collected his officers and forces, and ordered them to take the field in the plains of Gairiá, about three miles to the north of Murshidábád. Alí Vardí's army now numbering 30,000 men—20,000 foot, and 10,000 horse—advanced and rushed in upon the forces of the Subahdár. The bulk of these forces had been completely demoralised, and they stood idle spectators of the battle. The guns were found to be loaded with blank cartridge only. Finding that he was betrayed by his officers and men, Sarfráz Khán ordered his one faithful follower, Muffit Kasí Khán, to retire from the battle to Katak. He himself plunged into the thickest of the enemy and fought for some time with desperation. He was at last killed by a musket ball discharged from a distance, and with his death ended the contention for the Subahdárí. The now victorious Alí Vardí Khán marched to Murshidábád, where he was installed on the *masnad* and was saluted as the Subahdár of the three provinces by his officers, the Rájás, and the Mahárájás of Bengal. His administration was a series of battles between the Mahrattá and the Muhammadan armies, exhibiting a heart-rending detail of murders and oppressions, and ending at last in a lasting peace concluded in 1750 between the two belligerent parties. In 1756, Alí Vardí Khán died; and was succeeded on the *gadi* by his grandson and adopted son Mirzá Muhammad, who assumed the title of Siráj-ud-daulá. This Subahdár proved the greatest tyrant of his race, and the last representative of the Emperor in Bengal. The traditions current among the people regarding his unparalleled cruelties, point him out as a monster in human shape. His seraglio contained an immense number of women purchased and decoyed from their houses. He took an inhuman delight in capsizing boats and drowning the passengers. His unbridled lust and terrible oppressions arrayed against him the secret but inveterate hostility of the principal members of the Government, and of the leading Rájás and bankers. The Rájás of Nadiyá, Bardwán, Dinájpur, Bishnupur, Midnapur, and Bírbhúm, came to Murshidábád, and represented their grievances to Mahárájá Mahendra, the Nizámat Diwán, who promised them redress, and they returned to their respective territories. He then represented to the Nawáb the disaffection of his principal subjects and the ruin of the country caused by his unrighteous conduct; and urged on him the necessity and importance of following the righteous and lawful course. But his representations were utterly disregarded. Finding the Nawáb was incorrigible, he determined on the dethronement of his Excellency. With this view he convened a secret Council at the house of Jagat Seth. Among those who attended were Rájá

Rámnáráyan, Rájá Rájballabh, Rájá Krishna Dás, Mír Jáfar Alí, and Jagat Seth himself. Mahendra opened the proceedings by stating that he as well as the gentlemen present had served the Subah faithfully and zealously, and been honoured and treated with marked distinction by the immediate predecessors of Siráj-ud-daulá. But now they were no longer held in high estimation, and their interests as well as those of the people at large, were being ruthlessly sacrificed to the caprice and cruelty of the reigning Subahdár. He therefore requested the Council to favour him with their views as to what should be done. Rájá Rámnáráyan suggested that an agent should be deputed to Hastinápur (Dehli) to move the Emperor to recall Siráj-ud-daulá and to appoint a new Subahdár. Rájá Rájballabh was opposed to this suggestion; and expressed his opinion that as the Emperor was of Muhammadan faith, he was sure to appoint another Muhammadan as their Subahdár, but that the Hindús could never practise their religious rites and ceremonies with impunity under a Muhammadan *régime*. This desultory conversation led to no definite result. But it was afterwards settled at the suggestion of Jagat Seth that Mahárája Krishna Chandra Ráya of Nadiyá, being a man of uncommon sagacity and powerful influence, should be summoned to the Couucil, in order that he might give the benefit of his advice at this grave conjuncture. According to the author of *Krishna Chandra Charitra*, the Mahárájá Krishna Chandra at first sent his Díwán, Bábu Kálí Prasád Singh, to know why he was wanted. On the return of his Díwán he himself proceeded to Murshidábád, where he first saw Mahárájá Mahendra and Jagat Seth. He found the former very vacillating, and unwilling to embark in any enterprise against the Subahdár. Krishna Chandra tried to remove his doubts and overcome his fears, and assuming a firm tone expressed his belief that so long as the Muhammadan *régime* should last the Hindús could never expect to enjoy uninterruptedly the blessings of peace and the free exercise of religion. He therefore strongly advised that an application should be made to the English, who were settled at Calcutta near Kálighát, to expel the Muhammadans and assume the reins of government. On being questioned by Jagat Seth as to the character of the English nation, he replied that they were truth-loving and peace-loving, skilled in war, very powerful and wealthy, and devoted to the welfare of the subject.

Jagat Seth admitted he had heard the same high account of the English, but he could not see how the natives could communicate with them, as they spoke a different language. Krishna Chandra replied that that could be easily done through the agency of interpreters; and added that he was in the habit of visiting the shrine of Kálighát and he had availed himself of several opportuni-

ties of seeing Mr. Drake, the Governor of the English settlement at Calcutta, and carried on conversation with him through interpreters. It was at last resolved, according to the authority above quoted, that Krishna Chandra should proceed to Calcutta and invite the English to assume the government of the country. He lost no time in seeing Mr. Drake and delivering the important message with which he had been entrusted. He represented the grievous misgovernment of the Muhammadans, and urged on the Governor to emancipate the country from their terrible oppression. The Governor cordially acknowledged the truth of everything he had heard, and promised his assistance. He said he would lose no time in communicating with the chief officers of the Hon'ble East India Company in England, and so soon as the result of the reference was known he would adopt the necessary measures for the expulsion of the Muhammadans. About this time Siráj-ud-daulá, as if to hasten his downfall, made a demand on the English for a larger revenue than that which they had hitherto paid. The Governor resisted the demand, but the Subahdár repeated and insisted on it. Another cause which expedited the extinction of the Muhammadan power in Bengal was Rájá Krishnaballabh being disgraced by the Nawáb, his leaving Murshidábád and taking shelter at the English settlement in Calcutta. The Governor assured him that he was perfectly safe at the settlement, and that he might remain there as long as he liked. The Nawáb having heard of the circumstances wrote to the Governor to send up to Murshidábád Krishnaballabh, the son of Rájá Rájballabh, as a prisoner in irons. The Governor refused to deliver him up. The Nawáb wrote again and again to the same effect, but his unreasonable demand was politely but firmly refused. The exacerbation of feeling thus produced on both sides brought on hostilities which eventuated in the memorable battle of Plassey. How that battle terminated, how the Muhammadan power was overthrown, and how the English power was established, have been described by the historians.

It may be here observed that the English not only won their way to the sovereignty of this country, but were invited to assume it by the leading Hindú noblemen and gentlemen. The parallelism between the English Revolution and the establishment of English power in Bengal in 1757, does not of course hold good; but there is one feature common to both. The dethroned rulers had been guilty of gross violations of all constitutional principles, and their misgovernment had excited the deep resentment of their subjects. Any government, both in England and Bengal, was under the circumstances thought better than no government, or such misgovernment as those countries had suffered from. In both cases the new government proved as great a blessing as the old government had proved a curse.

The part taken by Krishna Chandra in the establishment of the English power reflects the greatest credit on his consummate statesmanship and political prescience. In recognition of the services rendered by him to the English Government, Lord Clive conferred on him the title of *Rájendra Bahádur.* He was also presented with a dozen guns used at Plassey. They may be still seen in the Rájbárí.

The Mahárajá was a scholar and fond of the society of scholars. But there was no student-dreaminess in him. He was strong of will as well as of brain. His bright clear intellect grasped knowledge, fine arts, and politics. He was fond of music, and patronized musicians and *kláwaths* of the Upper Provinces. He delighted in *dhurpads* and *khèáls*, and was a great connoisseur in matters regarding the *rágs* and *ráginis* regulating oriental music. He was a great encourager of architecture. He constructed the large building for pújá in the Rájbárí. It is of Gothic style of architecture, and is considered a splendid *Dálán.* He also built a marble staircase for going down the sacred well *Gyan Bapi* in Benares, for the benefit of the pilgrims. He was universally considered the head of Hindú society, and was the arbitrator on all questions of caste.

In 1758 the Nadiyá Ráj became a defaulter to the English, Government; on which Mr. Luke Scrafton proposed to the Government to send a trusty person into Nadiyá to collect the revenues for the Mahárájá, and to deprive him of all power in his country, allowing him only Rs. 10,000 for his expenses. It appears from the proceedings of the Government, dated 20th August, 1759, that the revenue of the Mahárájá Krishna Chandra for the Parganá of Nadiyá was nine lákhs of rupees, less Rs. 64,048, being the revenue of Nadiyá lands included in East India Company's lands; so that the net amount was Rs. 8,35,952. This amount was payable by monthly kists or instalments. For its punctual payment the Mahárájá entered into the following agreement:—" I promise to pay the above sum of Rs. 8,35,952, agreeable to the kistbandí without delay or failure. I will pay the same into the Company's Factory. I have made this that it may remain in full force and virtue. Dated the 23rd of the moon Tulhaide, and the 4th August, of Bengal year, 1166."

During the early part of the English administration, Sántipur, as we have already mentioned, was one of the great cloth Aurangs of the Company. But in those days security of life and property had not been established. In November, 1764, an attack was made on it and the export warehousekeeper laid before the Board the following letter of complaint from the Company's gomáshtás:—

" Sántipur, 6th November, 1764.

" Your favour of the 25th ultimo we have received yesterday.

"Rám Chandra Sháh, the son of Krishna Chandra Sháh, arrived "in the Aurang with two or three hundred horsemen, sepoys "and peons; about 50 persons entered our factory, and insisted "on our going with them to Rám Chandra Sháh; and find-"ing that we refused to go, they forcibly took away Manohar "Bhattáchárjya, our gomáshtá who provides cotton yarn for the "Company, whereby the Company's business is stopped; there-"fore, as we cannot perceive their design in the present disorder, "we despatch Haidirám Mukharji and Gopál Bhattáchárjya to "inform you of the particulars, and hope you will take notice of "the same."

This was the transition state of Nadiyá. The summary laws of the Ráj for the repression of crime being abolished, and the police of the Company's Government being ill-organised and unable to cope with it, the district became the head-quarters of robbers and dacoits who carried on their depredations with impunity. One of them, "Biswanáth Bábu," exercised his nefarious vocation in broad daylight, and used to send previous notices of his intention to those whom he intended to plunder, provided his demands were not complied with. Biswanáth Bábu was a *bágdi* by caste, and an inhabitant of Asánagar, ten miles from Krishnanagar. His chief companions were Naldahá, Krishna Sardár, and Sanyásí. Naldahá, as his *sobriquet* implied, had the faculty of diving and remaining under water for a long time. These three men were the lieutenants of Biswanáth. His gang numbered more than 500 dacoits. He was the terror of the country and the *bête noire* of the police; and kept the whole district in a chronic state of alarm. On one occasion, when he wanted to celebrate a pújá, he found that his available funds would not suffice for its celebration; he therefore determined, from information received, on plundering the *gadi* at Kálná, where the Nandis of Baidyapur had just remitted 10,000 rupees in cash. He took a boat at night and came down to Kálná, accompanied by only four noted dacoits armed with swords and pistols. On his arrival he sent for the *dárogá* and made him sign a paper purporting to be an *ikrár* in which the *dárogá* confesses to collusion with the dacoits in the robbery of the *gadi*. Biswanáth and his companions then landed, and coolly helped themselves to the treasure. On another occasion Biswanáth received intimation of a large remittance having arrived from Calcutta at the factory of Mr. Samuel Fady, an indigo planter of Nadiyá. The remittance was sent to enable Mr. Fady to make advances to his ráyats. Biswanáth with his gang attacked Mr. Fady's bungalow at night, and looted the money. Mrs. Fady being frightened out of her life concealed herself in a tank in the compound, having put a black *hándi* over her head, with a view to disarm suspicion of her place of concealment.

Mr. Fady was pinioned by the dacoits and was carried by them to their rendezvous, where a discussion between Biswanáth and his chief companions took place as to the expediency of killing Mr. Fady. The general opinion was in favour of the murder; but Biswanáth was opposed to it, and opined that to shed the blood of an Englishman would create a great sensation and array against them the active hostility of all *Sáhib-logon.* While this discussion was going on, one of the ruffians rushed upon Mr. Fady with a drawn sword and was about to murder him, when Biswanáth caught hold of his arm and snatched the sword from his grasp. It was at last resolved that Mr. Fady should be let off, on his promising not to betray them. Mr. Fady gave the required promise, and was allowed to depart. Believing the promise extorted from him was not binding on his conscience, he went straight to the house of the Magistrate, Mr. Eliot, who had already acquired some reputation as an energetic police officer. He roused Mr. Eliot, who was still in bed; and stated to him all that had happened. He urged upon the Magistrate to leave no stone unturned for the capture and punishment of the dacoits, promising to co-operate with him, and making a solemn vow not to resume his business so long as the object mentioned above was not gained. As the police force then at the disposal of Mr. Eliot was too inefficient to cope with the formidable gang of Viswanáth, he applied to the Government for the aid of a company of sepoys from the Militia. The application was readily complied with, and furthermore Mr. C. Blacquière, then one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, was associated with Mr. Eliot as a Joint Magistrate; this being the first instance when an Uncovenanted Officer was deputed to the Mufassal to take an active part in the executive department. Mr. Blacquière took up with him a few European sailors and a body of *Upargostis,* who were able-bodied men, and being all natives of Sántipur, could watch and report to their chief the movements of Biswanáth's gang. From information received from one of the *Upargostis,* Mr. Blacquière proceeded with his men to a spot where Biswanáth intended to commit a dacoity. He found that the leaders of the gang were flourishing their swords outside a house, while it was being plundered inside by their followers. Mr. Blacquière ordered the sepoys to arrest the leaders alive, but they pleaded their inability to do so. They, however, said they would, if permitted, shoot them down. The European sailors were then called upon to capture them. This they did, having first disarmed the dacoits of their *talwárs* by hitting their arms with long sticks. The sepoys then surrounded the house, and apprehended some of those minor dacoits who had plundered it, and had been unable to escape. This capture tranquillised the district for a time; as the dacoits dispersed.

But the *Upargostis* were indefatigable in tracing them out; and at last it was ascertained and reported that Biswanáth and his chief companions were engaged in dressing their food in a *jungle*. Mr. Eliot, Mr. Blacquière, and Mr. Fady immediately marched with their forces to the spot, and surrounded the *jungle*. The gentlemen rushed in, and arrested Biswanáth and his companions. The dacoit taunted Mr. Fady for his breach of promise, and added he was now prepared for whatever might befall him. His manner was bold and almost dignified, and his aspect did not belie his words. Biswanáth and a dozen of his accomplices were tried, convicted, and capitally sentenced. They were hung on a scaffold on the river side. Their corpses were caged and hung on a *Bat-tree* (*Ficus Indica*) for public exhibition, and as a warning to evil-doers. This event happened about the year 1808.

The features of Biswanáth were irregular, but not coarse like those of other aboriginal Bágdis. His keen dark eyes and shaggy eyebrows gave an interesting expression to his face. He was ferocious; but his ferocity, as we have seen in the case of Mr. Fady, was tempered by caution if not by mercy. He had several good traits, and was something like the Robin Hood or the Rob Roy of Bengal. In return for the black mail he levied, he afforded protection to those who paid it. He also in several instances relieved men from their pecuniary difficulties. He fed the poor during his pújás; and freely gave what he had easily earned to Bráhmans when they applied to him for assistance on occasions of the marriage of their daughters.

Maharájá Krishná Chandra died at the good old age of 70, and left six sons and one daughter.

Siva Chandra, the eldest son of the deceased Maharájá, succeeded to the title and estate of his father, in accordance with the provisions of the will of the latter. Krishná Chandra was thus the first Hindú who adopted the custom of making written wills, which are unknown to the *sástras*.

Siva Chandra retained in his employ the old officers of the ráj, and availed himself of their experience. He managed the affairs of his estate with great tact and judgment. He was a more profound scholar in Sanskrit than even his distinguished and versatile father. A manuscript work of Siva Chandra has been lately discovered. He was a religious man, and spent a large portion of his time in making pujás and performing ceremonies. He celebrated the *Soma Yaga*. He died at the age of 47, leaving one son and one daughter.

Siva Chandra was succeeded by his son Iswara Chandra, who was generous to a fault. He was in fact very extravagant, and knew not how to economise, and far less to enhance, the resources

of his estate. Through his extravagance, he lost property worth three lakhs of rupees. He built a beautiful villa called *Sriban*, situated in a romantic spot at a distance of two miles from the Rájbárí. It was at one time the seat of luxury and resonant with music, but it is now in a state of dilapidation. Iswara Chandra died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, leaving one son and one daughter; the son, Girísa Chandra, a young man of sixteen years of age, succeeded to the title and property. During his minority the estate remained under the control of the Court of Wards. Like his father he was a very extravagant man, and as soon as the estate came into his possession he began to squander its proceeds most recklessly. The bulk of the property was in his time sold by the inexorable sunset-law, owing to the non-payment of the Government demand.

The *debottar* lands which had been expressly set aside for the worship of the several family idols, yielding an income of about a lakh of rupees a year, and some zamíndáries heavily encumbered, were all the properties now left to him. The Ráj, that at one time embraced a vast extent of country and comprised eighty-four Parganás, that was the seat of great manufacturing industries and teemed with a variety of agricultural resources, was now reduced to the proportions of a small estate. The absence of a law of entail, which in Bardwán was in some measure supplied by the *pataní* system, was the chief cause of the annihilation of the Nadiyá Ráj.

Girísa Chandra, like several of his predecessors, was a great encourager of Sanskrit learning, and delighted to reward most munificently the eminent and learned men of his time. During his administration, the celebrated poet Rasaságar flourished, and was for a long time an ornament of his court. He had the faculty of improvising verses on the spur of the moment. Girísa Chandra had two wives; but left no issue at the time of his death, which took place in the sixtieth year of his age. Before his demise, he had adopted a son named Sirísa Chandra who succeeded him.

Sirísa Chandra was only 18 years of age, and had scarcely passed his minority when he took charge of the estate. The tact sagacity, and judgment which he evinced in the management of the estate were highly creditable, and were beyond his years, Within a short time he managed to clear off the incumbrances, and increased the income to some extent. But it had been irretrievably ruined, and all his skill could not restore it to its ancient grandeur. He was an intelligent, handsome, and affable man. His *bonhommie* rendered him very popular with all who came in contact with him.

Sirísa Chandra, though representing the most orthodox family in Bengal, emancipated himself from the fetters of bigotry and superstition. He rose above the prejudice of an antiquated age,

and caught the spirit of innovation and progress characteristic of the present age. He introduced European customs, and observed no distinctions in eating and drinking. He was a very public-spirited person, and his efforts to promote the moral and mental enlightenment of his country were very laudable. There was not a single reform movement set on foot in Bengal in which he did not take an active part. When the first petition for legalising the re-marriage of Hindú widows was prepared, he headed the list of subscribers to that memorable document. He was also opposed to the system of Hindú polygamy, and heartily joined in the movement for abolishing it except in certain cases. He established an Anglo-Vernacular School in his own premises, which was a very flourishing institution in his time; the instructive staff consisted of a head master, three assistant masters, and two pandits. The expense of the school was entirely defrayed by him, no aid being asked for from Government, nor any subscriptions from private sources. The school was on one occasion visited by Sir Frederick Halliday, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He examined the boys, and expressed his great satisfaction at the progress made by them. He also praised the Mahárájá for his encouragement of English learning. Sirísa Chandra was not only charitable, but his charity was discriminating. He presented to the Government the large tract of land on which the magnificent building of the Krishnanagar College stands. He also subscribed a large sum for its erection. Though he was not a scholar still he was a great admirer of learning. He had his two sons educated at the Government College. He was tolerably conversant with Persian and Sanskrit. He was a great patron of Hindú music, and was himself a renowned singer; his name was known to all the celebrated singers of the day, and they came to him even from such distant places as Dehli and Lakhnau.

The Government recognised and confirmed his title of Mahárájá Bahádúr; and bestowed upon him the usual khilat and other honours appertaining to the same.

Sirísa Chandra died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, leaving one son and one daughter.

Satísa Chandra succeeded his father at the early age of twenty. He was an Englishman in his habits. He died at Masúrí on the 9th October, 1870, in the thirty-third year of his age. He left no issue whatever. He had two wives; one of whom is still living. This lady receives a pension from the Court of Wards, under whose control the estate is now placed.

Though some of the successors of the Máhárájá Krishna Chandra evinced some talent and public spirit, yet their histories are not fertile of incidents which illustrate the period and go to make up

history. The ráj, though still carrying with it the title of *Mahárájá Bahádúr*, has been virtually reduced to a zamindárí. This fact illustrates an observation of Lord William Bentinck, made in 1837, before a Committee of the House of Commons :—" In many respects the Muhammadans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling; the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other." The policy thus emphatically condemned has to some extent been modified; still what is wanted is a field for the cultivation and evolution of the public virtues of the chiefs and princes of India.

The Nadiyá Ráj has exercised a most potent influence on the literature and politics of this country. It has contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the development of the Nyáya philosophy, and the substitution of the English for the Muhammadan power. Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráya was the Mecænas of his age, and gave every encouragement to learning. He acted according to the dictum of Manu: "A gift to an ordinary Bráhman is doubly meritorious, but one to a learned Bráhman is ten thousand times more so." Being considered a consummate politician, his advice was sought for by the leading men of Murshidábád as to the best way of displacing Siráj-ud-daulá. His advice, as we have seen, indicated high statesmanship; and its adoption resulted in the extinction of an intolerable tyranny, and in the establishment of a beneficent government.

The decadence of learning in Nadiyá attracted the attention of the English Government as early as 1811. On the 6th March of that year, Lord Minto recorded a minute, advocating the establishment of Sanskrit colleges in Nadiyá and Tirhút. We reproduce from that minute the following pertinent remarks :—

"It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every enquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, the remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a

want of books or of persons capable of explaining them. The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the Native Government. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any, other support. The justness of those observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindú learning, *viz.*—Benares, Tirhút and Nadiyá. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the zamíndárs, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronised by the native princes and others under the former Governments, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents."

These suggestions of Lord Minto resulted in the establishment of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. The recent mutilation of that institution has caused the deepest regret, and awakened anxious solicitude for the future of the science and learning of this province, in the mind of every patriotic and thoughtful man in Bengal. We trust that, with the spread of high English education, which is fast taking root and will soon shoot up into a goodly tree, such mutilations will become impossible. Researches into Sanskrit literature and philosophy cannot be now successfully carried on unless supplemented by a knowledge of English. Oriental lore can be best utilised when it is based on the Western spirit of enquiry. Lord Northbrook, in his most able and statesmanlike speech on the Government educational policy, delivered at the recent distribution of prizes at the Medical College, enunciated two principles which we trust will henceforth be loyally acted upon as the ruling principles of that policy:—" The maintenance of a high standard of education is the only means by which the ample stores of Western literature may be brought within the reach of the natives of India. Following still the principle laid down in the Despatch, I hold that proper encouragement should be given to the study of the ancient and historical languages of India." We hope that the light of learning, which, having dawned in the east, has travelled westward, may retrace its course until its rays may penetrate the tols of the Pandits, the *baitakkhánás* of the

Bábus, and the *bhitas* of the ráyat. The Hindús, whose history, capacity, and career are full of interest, are now crying out to their conquerors, "Give us of your oil, for our lamps have gone out." Let us hope that the time will soon come when the sun of Western knowledge shall illuminate India from the Himálayas to the southern sea—reproducing and improving old modes of thought, reanimating and remodelling old systems of philosophy, vivifying the minds of men, and making the intellectual wilderness blossom as the rose.

Art. VI.—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

In some former numbers* of this magazine we reviewed in detail the Acts of the Governor-General in Council from its establishment in 1834 to the end of 1847; the Acts passed between the latter year and 1857 have no special features of their own; and the general spirit of legislation since the mutiny was noticed by us not long ago.† Although the conventional "we" is used, it is not of course pretended that the present writer was the author of the articles which appeared in 1848, or even that the whole of these articles have been supervised by the same editor. It is of course impossible that such should have been the case, and yet when we read again what was written so long ago, we are surprised to find that so much of it might have been written now. Our task then was mainly that of an examination of the Acts in detail, and we certainly did not expect to find that so much of it was simply a waste of time. But it was so, for out of 604 Acts passed before 1857, 301 have been wholly, and 24 partly, repealed; thus only 179 remain, and it is probable that but a few of these will survive the present efforts at consolidation. We shall therefore abstain from detailed criticism until the consolidators have completed their work, and there is a fair chance that the subject of our remarks will not have ceased to exist almost as soon as our remarks are published.

In summing up our review of legislation, down to the end of 1847, we said—"Having now noticed the principal classes of "Acts, and the omissions, we will conclude by observing that "on the whole the new Legislative Council has disappointed "the expectations raised both in and out of Parliament. Two "eras are clearly distinguishable—its early and latter days. "In the former it gave many indications of its Parliamentary "birth and origin: these are gone by; and in its latter days "all the indications are of its Leadenhall Street connection." This is similar to the complaint we had previously made against the system of constantly passing Acts to allow the Governor-General and his Council to act independently, which was as follows:—"The Governor-General is usually the only English politician "or statesman in Council: the other Councillors generally (with "the exception of one of them) are senior civil servants, often "eminent and able, and always possessed of large and varied "Indian experience; but they are a class who, with all their high "merits, official and personal, and aptitude for mofussil details,

* Nos. 16, 17, and 18.

† No. cii., Oct. 1870.

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"have been all their lives part and parcel of the Company's oligar-
"chical system: standing still all their lives, while the world
"has been going on; and the predominance which superior num-
"bers gives them, especially in the absence of the Governor-
"General, is not favourable, as we deem, to the progress which
"India is now capable of making." This failing of narrow-minded conservatism was clearly traceable throughout the whole work of the Council; appointed for the distinct purpose of reform and progress its members were unable to resist the passing of measures urgently needed, but they could generally manage to insert a clause or two which deprived the measure of more than half its value. They were in the position of a Conservative ministry compelled to introduce with a nominal approval measures which they cordially detested, and which they would take every indirect means in their power to defeat. Certainly no one now brings this charge against the Legislative Council; on the contrary the universal complaint against it is that it forces progress at a pace India is utterly unable to sustain; that, instead of its members being old-world obstructives, they are men whose liberalism is that of the most advanced doctrinaires and visionaries, who take advantage of their position to force on the country theories which it either utterly fails to understand, or thoroughly detests. The Council may therefore retort with some plausibility, "You accuse "us on one side with being behind, and on the other with being "before the age; is it not therefore probable that we are really "only moving with it?" This retort is plausible but not conclusive. How far the charge of undue haste is deserved we will consider, if space permits, hereafter; it is not inconsistent with the charge of obstructiveness. Conservatism like most other things has its good and its bad side; it may be a wholesome repugnance to alter the existing state of things unless it is clear that a better state will be substituted for it; and it may be an obstinate and selfish resolve to retain the monopolies and privileges of the class to which one may chance to belong, and a refusal to look at the injustice caused to other classes of the community. It was conservatism of the latter kind that was charged against the former Council—that the charge was true was proved by their legislation with reference to the press, European settlers, and similar subjects. Their object was not to resist the change of institutions of proved value for new ones of doubtful advantage, but to preserve, as long as possible, the last vestige of the monopoly once enjoyed by the "Company of merchants to the East Indies."

As conservatism may be a vice or a virtue, so may liberalism. It may be a refusal to admit the plea of "whatever is is best" as an excuse for obvious injustice, or for the delay of reforms the

necessity of which is clear, simply because the persons who will be benefited by them are not sufficiently numerous or sufficiently eager to carry them by force—and in this case it is a virtue. It is a vice when it becomes a desire to destroy simply to see if the destroyer cannot make some thing better; to remove apparent inequalities until the whole surface of society is dressed to please the eye of the reformer; and to obstinately insist on the people being happy not in their own way but according to the last theory. When conservatism and liberalism are virtues, they so closely resemble one another, that the difference between them is not one of principle, but merely one of opinion as to the utility of any particular measure; when they are vices it is still quite possible that, though apparently so opposite, they may co-exist in the same person. Intense selfishness is quite compatible with a spurious philanthropy that loves to do what it calls good at some one else's expense—the foremost champions of "liberty" are often most intolerant of the slightest difference from their opinions; conversely it is quite possible in practice, however logically absurd, for the most strenuous defender of the Company's monopoly in past days, or believer of "government by the sword" and the class animosities known generally as "prestige" in the present day, to insist on passing "for the good of the commonwealth" measures which would appear revolutionary to the most advanced English radical.

These two faults, a desire to retain for one's own clique unjust privileges, and an eagerness to force on others a theoretical perfection which is utterly at variance with their actual circumstances, may exist in the same body at different periods or even simultaneously; but the existence of either of them is sufficient to prove that the body is not truly representative. If, however, we allege that the Legislative Council fails in this respect, we are at once met with the reply that it does not profess to be so in any sense of the word. If this reply is strictly true, it is clear that the discussion can proceed no further. If the characteristic quality we have pointed out is not a failing, it is a waste of time to attempt to prove that it exists. But we by no means admit the reply to be strictly true; no doubt it is so literally if by "representative" we mean simply elected by the popular vote; but in our opinion such a meaning is utterly wrong. A "representative" body is obviously one that really "represents" the various classes of the community; the mode of appointment of the members of this body is simply an accident. It is quite possible for an autocrat to select and form into one body all the leading men of the various interests in the country; if he does so honestly—if he wishes truly to learn the feelings of the people, he will have no difficulty in collecting together a council

which is truly representative. That the autocrat's council is generally not representative arises from two causes: the first is that autocrats as a rule are not fond of hearing the truth, and therefore they select "speakers of smooth things rather than speakers of truth;" the other reason is the want of political courage which is almost always found under a despotic government; although the nominee may be really a representative of his class, he is still afraid to speak his mind; he has a strong suspicion that the despot's professed anxiety to hear the truth is really only a trap to find out those who are opposed to the Government; he feels that at best his words will be useless, and that the least that will happen to him will be that he is quietly shelved. The chances are therefore very strong against a despot's council being a representative body.

On the other hand it is quite possible that an assembly founded on popular election may represent nothing except the wealth of the elected, and the corruption of the electors and their capacity to be bribed. It may also be that the people have really no opinions to be represented, but merely a number of selfish prejudices. Never having had the remotest connection with the higher questions of politics, they may be quite unable to form any opinion as to how these questions should be decided. It is true that this fact would not necessarily prevent an assembly from being representative; no doubt the parliaments of Elizabeth, who almost confessed that questions relating to the church and to foreign affairs were matters too high for them, were as truly representative as the parliaments of Victoria. It is not necessary to the representative character of an assembly that it should be capable of deciding all questions of State. On the other hand it is necessary that there should be some general broad sentiments of the community—which we call vaguely public opinion—for it to represent. If a people has no ideas beyond the barest struggle for existence; if each district, or even each village, has no conception of the common good of the nation as a whole, it is clear that delegates from those districts or villages could represent nothing but local prejudices and antagonism. All questions not immediately affecting the delegate's village would simply be ignored, whilst on those that did affect it, such as questions relating to the distribution of taxation, the delegate would utterly disregard the general justice of the distribution, direct all his efforts to shifting the share of his village on to another that is perhaps already taxed to the uttermost.

It may be said that even in the most backward nation an elected assembly must be more truly representative than a nominated one; however absurd these local prejudices may appear to us, yet as a matter of fact they do constitute the public opinion of the nation, and any assembly that ignores them cannot be truly representative. Our reply to this is that an assembly is only truly

representative when it represents the higher intelligence of the nation; those who have no share in this intelligence have no claim to representation. This higher intelligence may not have existed, or may have existed and become vitiated; in either of these cases there can be no representation. Prostitutes and burglars have no doubt strong views on government, but no one has yet proposed that they should be represented as a class; the views or rather the prejudices of children are often as strong as those of their seniors, yet even under the most popular constitution the suffrage has never been given to them. We thus see that a nominated assembly *may* be, and that an elected one need not necessarily be, representative. No doubt the latter is much more likely to be so than the former; it should be preferred where possible, and the mere fact that the popular opinions or prejudices may not be in accordance with the ideas of a true philosopher is no sufficient reason for ignoring them. On the other hand there are cases where a popular election is impossible, in a penal colony for instance, or in a nation where the people are intellectually children. Few will deny that at present the people of India are but little in advance of this state; we do not wish to ignore the existence of a few highly and many fairly educated men, but it must, we think, be acknowledged that the political intelligence of the vast mass of the people is simply *nil*. If asked their opinions on general questions of policy they would at once say they had none, the matter was one that exclusively concerned the "sarkár." If we were to seek for any remedy for local evils, such as famines, we should be confidently told that the only thing necessary was for the Government to prohibit the export of grain, and to compel the bunniahs to sell at a fixed rate.

To call upon such men to elect an assembly would be certainly absurd, and probably most mischievous; yet it by no means follows that their opinions should be entirely ignored. They may have no capacity for originating reforms, but they may have a very strong one for resisting them; they may be incapable of forming a sound opinion on the general effect of a new measure, but they can often offer most sensible and valuable criticism on the practical working of some of its details. There are also many questions, such as sanitary and social measures, on which their feelings are strong and cannot be disregarded, however unsound they may be. A wise statesman would not attempt to do so; he would rather make it his great object to study them as thoroughly as possible. We have seen that he cannot ascertain them by ordering the election of a popular assembly; the only course open to him is to call to his councils those men who can give him the information he requires, and who by their position and experience can be fairly said to be representa-

tives of the various interests of the country. Does the present Legislative Council constitute such a representative body? Was it ever intended to do so? We find that by the Indian Councils' Act of 1861 it is thus constituted:—

I.—The Viceroy and President, who may be said to be at once the Prime Minister and representative of his Sovereign. As Prime Minister he takes part in the debates, and votes as an ordinary member; as Viceroy he has the power to veto any Act of which he disapproves.

II.—The Executive Government, corresponding to the Cabinet of the day, and consisting of the ordinary members of Council. These are five in number; three of them must be men who have served the Government in India for at least ten years; as a rule two of these are taken from the best men in the Civil Service, and the third from the army; they represent the highest ability and most mature experience that the Indian Services could afford. The fourth member must be a barrister of not less than five years' standing; and it was intended that he should bring to our assistance the more varied experience and more scientific mode of thought of a successful legal career in England. The appointment of the fifth member was restricted by no rules; he might be, as was the case with Messrs. Wilson, Laing, and Massey, a financier sent out from the House of Commons, or as at present simply a third ordinary member selected from the Civil Service. To the above may be added, as an extraordinary member, the Commander-in-Chief.

These are the officials or ministers, who are responsible for the actual government of the country; and previously to the first establishment of the Legislative Council, they carried it on without any other assistance. But by the Act of 1861 it is enacted that, although the ordinary members are to have a seat in the Legislative Council, they are not to sit there alone. It is incumbent on the Governor-General to nominate at least an equal number (not less than six nor more than twelve) of additional members, of whom at least half must be persons unconnected with the Government. Whenever the Council meets for legislation, the additional have precisely the same powers and privileges as the ordinary members.

To men accustomed to fully developed popular institutions, the above Council may seem a mere mockery of representation; that the framing of a Council of not more than 19 members at the outside, in which the non-official members must always be in the minority, to represent 200 millions of men, should be called a "liberal" measure, must appear to them simply ridiculous. It does not appear so to us; we think that the popular element in the Council might have been safely enlarged, but we do not sneer at the measure because it does not go quite so far as we could wish. The words of Lord Macaulay, in defending the old Whigs from the charge of

illiberality, that "we should look in what direction a man is going and not merely where he is at the moment," should be well remembered in judging the value of a new Act. On the path of popular progress may well be inscribed "vestigia nulla retrorsum;" and if this path leads though an almost unexplored country, if we know not where the journey will end, if the utmost we can say is that we are directing our course by what we believe to be the safest guides, we cannot wonder if those in charge of the expedition order the march to be slow and cautious. We cannot therefore blame English statesmen, destitute of all personal knowledge of India, if their first step towards establishing popular institutions should be a very short one—so short, indeed, that it may appear to many of the bystanders to be rather a practice of the motions of the "balance step without gaining ground" than an attempt at actual progress.

We believe ourselves, as we have already stated, that the measure is a *bonâ fide* attempt to advance. We admit at once that everything depends on the way in which it is worked, and that the Viceroy may, if he chooses, so work it as to turn the whole thing into ridicule. To take an extreme case: there is apparently nothing to prevent him from appointing as additional members, six of the stupidest subalterns in the army and six of the most conceited and shallow Bábús turned out by the Calcutta University. To take a less extreme case; he may appoint fit men, and, when he has done so, refuse to listen to them or contemptuously snub them whenever they open their lips.

On the other hand, if the Viceroy is really in earnest in his liberalism, the Act may be so worked as to obtain a Council that may fairly be called representative, and which may be something more than simply the executive Government under another name. The maximum number of additional members is absurdly small compared with the total population of India; but before making this comparison several deductions must be made from this total. Madras, Bombay, and Bengal Proper have all their local Legislatures; and it is to these, and not to the Imperial Council that their representatives should be sent. The constitution of the Native States at once excludes their population from the possibility of being represented. It is therefore only for the North-West Provinces and Non-regulation Provinces that the Legislative Council is required to be a representative body; no doubt it exercises a general control over the whole of India, but it does so on matters which belong more properly to the Executive Government than to the Legislative, and on these the Council is used rather as a place for making known and explaining the Government policy than as a deliberative assembly. We have thus twelve possible members for the North-West Provinces and Non-regulation Provinces—a miserable few

no doubt, but still better than nothing. We class official additional members as representatives, because such men, if selected for mature experience, broad and enlightened views, and power of sympathising with the people, are the most true representatives that could be secured by any system of appointment. The presence of six men like these, and the same number of equally qualified non-officials, would afford the Government ample means, if they chose to avail themselves of them, of becoming fairly acquainted with the general feeling of the country on all important questions. A Government that wished to obtain and make use of such information would be most careful in its treatment of these members; it would make them feel that they were called in because their assistance was really valued, and not that they might act as dummies in a farce; they would encourage them to speak their minds freely, and would shew them that they respected opinions honestly given, even if they thought some of the assertions on which they were based not completely supported by the evidence. They would remember that it is opinions and not facts that they are striving to collect; the so-called "facts" can generally be ascertained from the pigeon-holes of the Government offices, the opinions only from the people themselves or their representatives. If these opinions really exist, it is of little practical importance to enquire whether they have been formed by a correct investigation of facts and a perfectly logical train of reasoning. If the opinions are erroneous, we may hope that they may be removed in course of time, but as long as they exist they must be equally respected whether erroneous or true.

If the Act is capable of being worked liberally, and if it was intended to be so worked, it only remains for us to inquire how for this intention has been carried out. We believe that at the commencement the Indian was as much in earnest as the home Government. The working of the Act may be said to depend entirely on the personal character of the Viceroy and the law member of Council. Passing over the short reign of Lord Elgin, the practical working may be said to have commenced under Sir John Lawrence, with Mr. Maine for his attorney-general; and more favourable auspices could scarcely have been wished for. Sir John Lawrence was not a deep speculative philosopher; it may be doubted if he cared much for any theoretical principle; he would have been the last man who, from a love of popular institutions in the abstract, would desire to substitute them for a despotic system that was working well. But if not an enthusiastic admirer of abstract principles, he was a man of enormous practical experience; in the long course of his Indian service he had learnt well that on many subjects there does exist a most strong and decided native public opinion, and that this opinion must be respected, not on

the principles of liberty, but because it cannot safely be disregarded. Another most important point was the fact that Sir John had himself risen from the ranks of the Civil Service, he therefore saw around him at the Council board, not merely a legal quorum of honourable members, but a circle of old friends with the value of whose experience and opinions he was well acquainted. Though officially he was "His Excellency" to them, in their hearts he was plain John Lawrence; and they would speak their minds to him as freely as to any other member of their own service.

For such a Viceroy, Mr. Maine was perhaps as suitable a law officer as could possibly have been found; for his character supplied the very qualities in which Sir John Lawrence was deficient. With the latter, culture and book learning were certainly not strong points; in these Mr. Maine excelled. If Sir John's personal experience and sound common sense led him to form decided opinions, Mr. Maine could come to his support with a train of the clearest reasoning. It was Sir John's work to supply the facts, and Mr. Maine's to supply him with principles. These principles were generally sound; at any rate his deep culture had taught him the importance of thorough investigation, and had imbued him with a thorough respect for the opinions of others; if against those opinions he now and again launched a quiet sarcasm, he never overstepped the limits of polished satire.

At the commencement, and to almost the close of the reign of Sir John Lawrence there is little to complain of in the treatment or action of the Council. Its members expressed their opinions freely and were listened to with respect. The action of the Council was in the direction of steady progress. In the Panjáb and other Non-regulation Provinces, a clear and simple legal system was established in place of the chaos of conflicting circulars that had formerly contained the law. Municipalities were constituted on a footing which, though it left much to be desired in the way of a real popular control, contained the germs of much good. In fact all may be said to have gone well until we came on that inexhaustible source of dispute, the land. Oudh was the first point where the storm arose; but there, with Mr. Davies, the former Secretary, and present Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, for his Chief Commissioner, Sir John had little difficulty in obtaining his own way. But over the Panjáb Tenancy Act the contest was far more violent; Sir John Lawrence was bent on passing it before the Council left Calcutta early in 1868; but the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. Mansfield, succeeded in carrying his motion, postponing the discussion until further information had been received from the Panjáb. The effect of this on the Governor-General was most unfortunate. The Council had shewn that, instead of being merely a consultative body, it had a decided

will of its own, and would enforce it even against the executive Government. Instead of at once acknowledging that it had a perfect right to do so, Sir John appears to have looked on the vote, if not as downright mutiny at any rate as a challenge to a contest in which it was a point of honour to conquer. Orders were at once issued forbidding any official to correspond demi-officially with members of the Council; and when the bill again came before it at Simla, it was clearly the fixed resolve of the Viceroy to insist on its passing without further delay. He succeeded as a matter of course; for at Simla the Council is so constituted that the Government must be in a majority. We have no wish now to discuss the merits of this much debated Act; we are merely noticing with regret the effect of the contest in disturbing the former friendly relations between the Government and the Council, and in causing the former to look upon all opposition as "factious" and a "thing to be put down."

But if the relations between the Government and the Council towards the close of the reign of Sir John Lawrence were not so cordial as at its commencement, they have become much worse since. The change from Sir John and Mr. Maine to Lord Mayo and Mr. Stephen was in this respect a most decided change for the worse. In intellectual culture, and appreciation of general principles of government, Lord Mayo was scarcely, if at all, the superior of his predecessor. He was of course entirely without Indian experience; and his European experience, as a member of a ministry always in the minority in the House of Commons, and as Chief Secretary for a country in a chronic state of what he considered senseless disaffection, was not calculated to imbue him with any deep love for popular institutions.

To Mr. Maine, the retiring man of letters, the thoughtful Professor of Jurisprudence, succeeded Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the burly and successful advocate of the Common Law Courts. We do not wish for one moment to disparage the great ability of the latter; nor do we apply the epithet "burly" in any offensive sense. If it is applicable to his powerful physical frame, it still more correctly describes his powerful intellect. He was pre-eminently a man who had gained his position by success in the hard fights of practical every-day life, and not by profound thought in the retirement of his study. His business in life had been to gain verdicts, and not to write treatises on the organization of society. The institutions, customs, and modes of thought of the people of India, which Mr. Maine would study with the keen interest of the scholar, were to his successor little better than masses of rubbish to be tolerated only because the dust raised in attempting to remove them would probably choke the workmen. Officials professing to represent these feelings appeared to Mr.

Stephen not the representatives of a real public opinion, but narrow-minded men clinging to principles long since shown to be erroneous. As his utilitarianism left him little sympathy for old prejudices, so his "practical" turn of mind prevented him from tolerating any approach to a sham. To him the House of Commons would appear deserving of respect not on account of the principles and traditions it represents, but for the power it actually enjoys; conversely, the Legislative Council, destitute of all real power in any serious contest with the executive Government, had no claim on his admiration as a possible basis of popular institutions.

From neither Lord Mayo nor Mr. Stephen could any great sympathy with the Council, or desire to enlarge its powers, be expected; and most assuredly none was shown. Again and again was the assertion made that the Council was not a representative body. Was the term "session" ever used by any one in the course of debate?—it was instantly taken up, and we were told that there was no such thing as a "session" of the Council, which was merely a number of gentlemen called together by the Governor-General when and where he thought fit. Did any member attempt to point out the effect on the country of the Government policy?—he was at once told with a sneer not to suppose he was addressing the House of Commons.

That this charge against the Government, of deliberately attempting to stifle all free discussion is true, is abundantly proved by its conduct in the Income-tax debate. Mr. Inglis, a man perhaps of more practical experience of district work than any other member of the Council, solemnly warned the Government that its policy was producing and must produce the greatest discontent; the idea of the Government that a district officer assessed the tax from his own personal knowledge was an absurdity, it was absolutely impossible for him to do more than exercise the most general control over his subordinates; even these subordinates had no personal knowledge of the incomes they returned; they could only make a rough guess; where they were thoroughly honest they must occasionally be wrong, and so came injustice; where they were corrupt, the oppression must be frightful. There is not a word in the above that every man in the country does not know to be absolutely true; what then is the action taken by Government? They might have replied: "Your remarks "are unfortunately too true, but we are driven to the tax "from absolute necessity; any suggestions of improvements will "be listened to most readily, but we cannot give it up." What they actually did was this. They called for a return of the cases of oppression that had actually occurred; if an officer sent in a blank return, but maintained his opinion asto the existence of

the oppression, he was told he was a fool, for the evidence showed his opinion to be false. If on the other hand he did return the few isolated cases that had come to his personal knowledge, he was told that he was something worse than a fool for not having prevented them. To address warnings, or attempt to represent public opinion to a Government like this, becomes worse than useless ; any one holding strong opinions should expound them to the walls of his own study ; he would be listened to no more than in Council, but he would have this advantage, that he would not be insulted.

Under these circumstances, the Legislative Council became not the House of Commons but the Hall of St. Stephen. It was an office for registering the decrees of the executive Government, and not a deliberative assembly ; but at the same time it afforded the Government, under the form of a debate, an excellent opportunity of issuing to the public manifestoes of its policy, and on these occasions the spokesman was usually Mr. Stephen. He was always able, and always clear ; but his whole train of thought showed such ignorance of, and want of sympathy with, the real state of the country, that he probably did more harm than good. Certainly he defended the Government from the charge of actual malice, which no one had brought, but he proved conclusively that its feelings were diametrically opposed to those of the people.

Let us take for instance his speech on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, and the agitation for its repeal. We have no copy of it by us to quote verbatim, but we remember it well, and we believe that the following is a correct summary of it. After arguing that the imposition of local cesses was no breach of the Settlement, he proceeded to maintain that no arrangement could plead permanency if it had become manifestly unjust; one generation could not bind all future generations, and therefore Lord Cornwallis and the men of his time could not control the taxation of the country for ever ; it would be most unwise for the Government to interfere with that arrangement unnecessarily, and they had no intention of doing so at present, but there was nothing whatever to prevent their doing so hereafter if necessary. Now this argument of the inability of one generation to bind future ones, is merely a repetition of what we heard in England at the time of the abolition of the Irish Church ; and from an English point of view it is perfectly correct. Although some of the more foolish of the Tory party cheered frantically when, at their request, the Coronation Oath was read, by which the Sovereign was bound to maintain the Irish Church "for ever," their conduct was treated with contempt by the sensible men of their own party. The idea that one generation can bind all future ones, is as absurd as the idea that a man is bound in honour to hold, throughout his life, the crude notions he may have

put forward as a boy. The reason of the absurdity is that in England, and similar countries, the Government and the people are one. An Act of the Legislature is simply a document expressing the views of the nation for the time being; the same body, the nation, may afterwards alter those views without the consent of any one else, for there is no one else to consult. Individuals personally affected by the change must receive pecuniary compensation; but provided this is done, the nation may change its opinion as often as it likes. The words "for ever" under these circumstances can mean nothing more than that no particular limit is fixed for the operation of the Act; an Act containing them may be altered as easily as an Act from which they are omitted; for, as pointed out, all Acts of such a body are expressions of opinion, and not formal contracts between two separate persons. But in India the case is very different; as a matter of fact, here the people and the Government are not one; and in no instance was their duality shown more thoroughly than in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In no sense was that an act of the nation; it was a formal legal contract, between a body entitled to receive, and a body bound to pay, a certain portion of the produce of the soil, by which the payment of grain was commuted into a perpetual cash payment. The Government of one generation has no more right to repudiate the contracts of its predecessors, than a man has to repudiate the contracts of his earlier days. As long as the contract was in its favour the Government enforced it most rigorously, selling up esttes on thae slightest default; that now, when the contract has become favourable to the payers, it should turn round and repudiate it, is so monstrous that the mention of the very possibility of its doing so under any circumstances is a libel. No doubt when the Bengal Government is really the Bengal nation, it may discuss and legislate for the Permanent Settlement as it pleases; until it is so, any allusion to the subject is mischievous. But Mr. Stephen failed to see this; he was under the delusion that a very able speech which, if delivered in the House of Commons, would have been favourably criticised in a leading article in the "Times," would be equally appreciated by the people of Bengal. No mistake could well be greater; the very small fraction of the Indian public that even knows that the speech has been delivered is entirely incapable of following its subtleties, and of distinguishing between an enunciation of what, under certain circumstances, would be an abstract truth, and a declaration of a policy which the Government has actually determined to adopt; and the only effect of its perusal is the creation of a vague uneasy feeling that the Government no longer intends to respect what the natives have regarded as its most solemn pledges.

Almost the same remarks apply to the speeches delivered from

time to time on the subject of local rates. The imposition of these is said to be regarded as a "breach of faith." Mr. Stephen replies that it cannot be justly considered so, because the Settlement, whether permanent or for a fixed period, is really nothing more than the fixing of a cash demand for that portion of the produce of the soil which the Government would be entitled to take in kind if there were no Settlement. Agriculturists are, therefore, as liable as other classes of the community to the general taxes; considering their actual condition it may be expedient to exempt them, but they cannot claim to be exempt by virtue of any existing contract; besides, local is not imperial taxation, and no possible objection can be raised to contributing funds that are to be spent only on the people themselves. This reasoning would be perfectly convincing if each zemindar possessed the intellect and education of Mr. Stephen, or even if the leaders of native public opinion thought in the same way as the editors of the London daily journals. Unfortunately they do not; they reason thus: "Whatever may be "your 'theory' of land revenue, as a matter of fact we paid "nothing to Government except what came under that head; when "that was settled, we considered that everything was settled. "And in the North-West Provinces and Panjáb, at any rate, your "assertion that only the Government share of the produce was "engaged for is incorrect; under the name of cesses, money was "levied for roads, schools, &c—the very objects for which you "impose your Local Rates." The distinction between imperial and provincial taxation is to them simply unintelligible; in their eyes there are two distinct parties, the "sarkár" who collects, the people who pay money; if you tell them that the rates are really imposed and expended by themselves, they simply reply—"If "the matter really rested with us, they would not be imposed at "all."

We do not say that these views are just; we merely say that they exist, and that those gentlemen who represent them should be listened to with respect, and not sneered at as if they were defending exploded fallacies. We are legislating for India as it is, and not for what it possibly may be some two or three hundred years hence; if its people do consider a certain measure a "breach of faith," it is useless to say that they would not do so if they were all like Mr. Fitzjames Stephen. Yet this is really the position taken by Government in the Legislative Council. If any member ventures to assert that the feeling of the country is so and so, he is at once told (1) that his assertion is false, or (2) that if true, it only shows how ignorant the people are, how unfit to have a voice in the Government. What we believe to have been the intention of the creators of the Council, that legislation should be based on existing facts, and as far as possible in harmony with the feelings

of the country, is thus totally disregarded. Members representing those feelings are contemptuously silenced, and the Council Chamber becomes merely a platform from which a small band of "doctrinaires" deliver elaborate orations enunciating abstract principles, the meaning of which not more than a hundred of the most highly educated men in the country are capable of understanding.

If the Legislative Council looks with contempt on the opinions of the country, it is only natural that the country in its turn should complain of the action of the Council. Measure after measure passes into law; and the country instead of being thankful, only groans for rest. The Government, hurt at its ingratitude, asks angrily, "Wherein have I wearied thee?" Its members publish minutes and make speeches, showing the comparative number of Acts passed in England and India; and as they called for statistics showing the cases of oppression that had actually occurred under the Income-tax, so they now call on the people to name a single measure passed unnecessarily.

The "Indian Statesman" of March 30th contained an excellent article on this very subject. Referring to the comparison between England and India, it pointed out most clearly that such comparison was simply misleading, for the following reasons:—

1.—In England the law is a mystery in the hands of the lawyers, it matters nothing to the people whether it is contained in one or one hundred Acts. In India almost every Act affects the people directly.

2.—The different conditions of English life make a number of Acts for what may be called private purposes necessary which are unnecessary here.

3.—In England the people themselves have full control over the principles of legislation.

4.—In England no measure is passed until it has been most thoroughly discussed and approved.

Mr. Maine, in his reply to this charge of over-legislation, laid great stress on the fact that there was scarcely a measure passed that had not long been demanded by the Local Governments; and he seemed to really think that this was a proof that the measure was demanded by the people. He further demonstrated the injustice of the charge of haste, by stating that there were numerous measures which the Local Governments were loudly calling for, which the Council was delaying. It did not appear to strike him that it was possible, though not probable, that a Lieutenant-Governor's ideas might be as little in harmony with those of the people as the ideas of a member of Council; that a man may ask for bread and not be satisfied if he receives a stone. A province may urgently require a dozen practical Acts, and the Legislative Council may insist on

presenting it with half the number of theoretical measures to which it is either opposed or thoroughly indifferent. The mere fact that a Local Government has demanded the measures, and that the Council has only passed five Acts, can be no proof whatever that its action is conservative.

In the article from which we have already quoted, the challenge to point out a single mischievous Act is met by naming the Coinage Act; and the frightful mischief caused by the order to break all coins that have lost two per cent. of their weight even by fair wear and tear, is clearly shown. Besides the Coinage Act, there are several others passed even within the last two years the necessity for which is not apparent. Who, we would ask, in 1870, demanded the Weights and Measures Act, so properly disallowed by the Secretary of State? What is the object of the Prisons Act? It seems to us to be both useless and mischievous. Our idea is that, in the eyes of the law, a criminal prisoner has no civil rights whatever; he has become a slave, whom the jailer is bound to treat with humanity, but has no legal redress against the Government for any treatment he may receive beyond what the Government or its officers may choose to grant. Inside the jail, discipline was maintained by executive orders; a prisoner was flogged or otherwise punished because the executive officer thought he deserved it. Now all this is changed; the prisoner is no longer a slave, he is merely a citizen whose conduct has rendered him amenable to stricter rules than his fellows; the officer in charge of the jail is merely an official empowered to visit certain acts described in Act XXVI. of 1870, with the punishment prescribed by that Act; and were he even to box the ears of a prisoner otherwise than in accordance with the Act he might be prosecuted for an assault. In 1871 we have the Weights and Measures Act again passed (we trust to give the Secretary of State an opportunity of again exercising his power of veto); and two other measures, *viz.*, the Panjáb Canal and Land Revenue Acts, involving important principles. Both these Acts were much criticised by the press; the changes caused by them, such as the power given by the Canal Act to levy a water-rate whether water was taken or not, and the declaration that all mines belong to Government made by the Revenue Act in direct opposition to existing orders of the Secretary of State, are simply revolutionary. Admitting for the sake of argument that they are beneficial, a whole year's discussion of them would not be too much; yet we find them passed into law almost before the Council can have read a single criticism on them; and the confiscatory clause about the mines was never even published before it became law. This is all on a par with the general policy of the Council;—"the people! who are the people? a mass of animals "little above cattle, is it for such as them to talk about policy, and "breaches of faith? Nay rather, their work is to obey in silence,

"and to present themselves as a *corpus vile* on which those en-
"lightened minds, who have, by natural selection, succeeded to the
"power formerly exercised by kings by divine right, can experi-
"mentalize as to the truth of conflicting theories."

The remainder of the Acts of 1871 are mainly only a part of the general work of consolidation ; and it may be said with a certain degree of truth that it is this very work which has raised the charge of over-legislation ; and that this charge proceeds, not from the public, but from old-fashioned officials who dislike to change their old rules even for the better. If this is partly true, we should still remember that even officials are a part, and in India they are a most important part, of the public ; and that they ought not to be vexed unnecessarily. As it is they are only too apt to look upon all "Acts" as a nuisance ; and their love for the law will not be increased by finding that as soon as they have mastered one Act it has been repealed, and a new one passed in its place. We are fully aware of the immense advantage of having the law contained within reasonable limits, and expressed in clear language ; we also believe that much may still be done in this direction. But we would warn the Council against over zeal and over haste. It is over zeal to allow every ingenious assistant who imagines (perhaps truly) that he has detected an imperfection in the old law, to at once suggest that it should be repealed and republished under a different title with a few verbal alterations. It is over haste to imagine that there is the slightest necessity that the work should be completed within a year or two ; what is really wanted is that it should stand when finished. Nothing whatever is gained by "polishing off" a really intricate subject. No doubt it is very simple, when existing rules are numerous, and if not actually confused certainly not clear, to simply repeal them all, and leave it to the Local Government to republish them, or any others in their places. This is not legislation, but an utter abnegation by the Council of all legislative functions. Nor is it consolidation; for after a few years these orders in the *Gazette* will become quite as confused as the old law. It is of course possible to enact that these rules shall be republished annually ; but who is to do this? To take the Panjáb, there are at least half a dozen Acts by which this obligation is laid on the Government. It cannot do so with its present staff; so its plan is to attach some Assistant Commissioner to the Secretariat on "special duty," until the work has been polished off. We believe the gentleman now employed thus is Mr. D. G. Barkley, who has shown by his examinations at the Bar in England, and by his career out here, that the choice is as good a one as could have been made. It is not against the man, but the principle, that we protest. The Legislative Council passes with a great flourish of trumpets a

law on land revenue, the most important subject in India; and declares, amidst much mutual laudation, that the measure will be a "lasting monument of Mr. Stephen's fame;" we find that we have got nothing but a few bombastic assertions by *doctrinaires* (which they call "laying down broad principles"), and that the whole practical legislation is shifted on to a supernumerary temporarily attached to the Panjáb Secretariat. This is on a par with a characteristic Panjáb story: it is said that one of its Deputy Commissioners asked the Czar of all the Russias to stand godfather to his son. He consented, but deputed as proxy his ambassador in London, who deputed the Foreign Secretary of State, who deputed the Viceroy, who deputed the Lieutenant-Governor, who deputed the Commissioner, who deputed the Deputy Commissioner, who deputed the Assistant Commissioner, who, having no one else to depute, attended in person. Whilst, as we have said, we gladly admit that much of the work of the Council has been useful, we must convict it on the charge of over-legislation. We do not refer here to its deliberate opposition to the feeling of the people; that point we examined before. When we say that it over-legislates, we base our opinion on the following grounds:—

1.—It persists in legislating on a number of subjects, such as prisons and takáví advances, which belong properly to the Executive Government.

2.—It is constantly patching and altering existing Acts; the two codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure are sufficient proof of this.

3.—It "rushes" bills through Council at a pace which makes the work utterly unsound. Instead of a real work of consolidation, we have one or two flashy sections, and the whole work is handed over to the Local Government.

As in the case of the Income-tax, so it is with the present charge against the Council; the complaint is not so much against actual facts that have occurred as against the general feeling excited. There is no confidence in the policy of Government, and no stability in its measures. An Act declared to-day to be a monument of genius, is to-morrow found to be a crude and imperfect measure; the "word of the Government," hitherto looked on as the most imperishable of securities, is formally declared to be merely an expression of the ideas of one Governor-General, which his successor is legally at perfect liberty to repudiate. The intention is announced of legislating for India on those principles which have been proved good in all countries; these principles are not defined, but we know that by them is meant, not the principles which seem good to the people, but those which appear good to the small knot of men who surround the Viceroy. The idea of the Council being in any way a representative body, or of the Government consulting the feelings of the

people further than they are compelled by fear of insurrection, is openly scoffed at; and were it not for this fear we should not have the slightest guarantee that a sentiment uttered by Mr. Odger in Hyde Park in one month would not form the basis of a bill to be introduced by Sir John Strachey the next month, as an illustration of those principles which have been found good in other countries.

At the commencement of our article we pointed out that it was quite possible for a body of men to be greatly in advance of the country on some points, and unduly obstructive on others. We have found the Legislative Council guilty of the first charge; where theories are involved, it treats the opinions of the people as a pedantic schoolmaster would treat the erroneous notions of his pupils; where it passes from theory to practice, we find it full of narrow-minded prejudices. If there is one principle that "has proved itself good elsewhere," it is the one of giving the people a real control over the Government, as far as it personally affects them. The truth of this principle is fully recognised by the members of Council, at least in the abstract; they even go so far as to introduce measures, the object of which would seem to be to put this principle into practice. But when we come to examine these measures in detail, we find that, whilst making great professions, they really retain all power in official hands. Take for instance the Municipalities' Act. Any one would have thought that, if there is a case in which the voice of the people might be heard, it is the question of what money the inhabitants of a town should raise for their own convenience or enjoyment, and how they should expend it; the Act accordingly provides for the constitution of the Committee by nomination or election. It would be supposed that election would be the ordinary mode of appointment, and that nomination would only be resorted to where election had failed or most undoubtedly would fail; yet we find that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb declares in an official circular that "ordinarily nomination is preferable to election;" and that even in the capital of the province election has never been tried. Notwithstanding the recent excellent order removing from Municipal Committees a host of miscellaneous officials, the official element is still very strong; and the Government does not hesitate to declare that it is the Deputy Commissioner, and not the Committee, that it holds responsible for the management of the town. If we read the proceedings of these Committees, as published in the papers, we find that the Government interference is incessant, and almost every resolution contains some reference to a letter from Government; if in any case the Committee show a little firmness, their resolution is not treated as an expression of the opinion of a popular body, it is looked on simply as a piece of insubordination on the part of the official President, who avails himself of the fiction of a general reso-

lution to be impertinent to his superiors. If on the other hand any dispute arises between the President and the rest of the Committee; if the former shows his contempt for the latter so clearly that they resent it, and does not even keep up the appearance of consulting them, what happens? Is he reminded that he is merely Chairman of a popular body, and has no power or will apart from them? On the contrary, he is invariably supported, even where his conduct has been most wrong; whatever may be said to him privately, he cannot be openly censured; all other officials are informed that to vote against their Deputy Commissioner is a grievous act of insubordination; and the non-official members are reminded that really they are not popular representatives, but merely nominees of the district officer with no actual voice in the management of affairs.

As it was with the Municipalities, so it is with the Local Rate Committees. We have the same high-flown talk about spending the money paid by the people on the people and through the people; and we find that this truly liberal measure will give the people a command over actually one-third of the votes of the Committee; that over the question of what money is to be paid by the people they have no control whatever, and that their power of directing how it is to be expended is fettered by every restriction and requisition for Government sanction that can be invented. This is the way with all other similar measures. Our rulers do not hesitate to enunciate "principles" which would be appropriate to the Government of the Commune; but when called on to put into practice the very A, B, C, of Liberalism, they shrink back and refuse to give up a particle of official power. "No doubt," they say, "our theories are true in the abstract, and may be employed "against others, but when we come to employ them against "ourselves we find them unsuited to the present state of the coun-"try. Popular institutions are beautiful. We yearn to establish "them; but, unfortunately, the people are not yet sufficiently edu-"cated to appreciate them."

It may be said that this is not the fault of the Council; their intentions were liberal and honest, it is the Local Government that has misinterpreted them. We decline to allow this shifting of responsibility; the Council know quite well, or ought to know, what is the official mind, and how it will interpret acts tending to diminish power. It knows well that, if it is left to officials to adopt a system of nomination or election, the "system of nomination will ordinarily be found preferable;" that if the power of Government to interfere is left undefined, it will practically be unlimited; that if the President of the Committee is not made clearly to understand that he is only its mouthpiece, he will persist in believing that he is its master. If it is left to the official body to surrender only so

much of its power, or rather nominal importance, as it thinks fit; if the plea that "the time has not yet come," is to be accepted at once as sufficient reason for indefinite delay; if in a word the introduction of popular measures is to be left to the option of each official, there can be little doubt how this option will be exercised. Either the measures will not be introduced at all, or if introduced will be a contemptible sham; all real power will be jealously retained by the officials, and the popular representatives will be merely so many puppets met together to register his decrees. It is therefore the duty of the Legislature to see that the matter is not left optional; we do not mean that it should enact one hard and fast measure for all parts of the country; we merely point out that it is its duty to insist on such a minimum of liberality as will prevent the working of the measure from in any case degenerating into a sham; the maximum of liberality may be left undefined, for there is no chance of its being abused.

It is no part of the present article to put forth views as to what institutions of India ought to be; we are merely concerned with the questions whether existing institutions perform the work for which they were intended. We are compelled to answer most decidedly that they do not. The institution of which we speak is the Legislative Council. The Act constituting this body, though a most cautious measure, really intended to establish the most representative assembly that could be collected in India.

The practical carrying out of this intention was left to the Viceroy, who at first set about the task with zeal. At the commencement, that is, during greater part of the reign of Sir John Lawrence, a real desire was shown to consult the feeling of the country, and to treat its representatives with respect; but the instant the Council attempted to assert a will of its own, the feeling of the Government towards it completely changed. The members of the executive became, instead of members of a deliberative assembly, an organised band of officials resolved to carry their measures in spite of all opposition. To such a resolve the additional members could offer no effectual resistance, and they therefore became contemptible in the eyes of their opponents. The feeling of the country became a thing to be laughed at, and not a thing to be consulted; its representatives were no longer experienced and valued colleagues, they became rather a number of backward school-boys privileged with the opportunity of improving their minds by listening to the wisdom of their instructors. These instructors, having usurped all real power, exercise it like true pedagogues. They seize eagerly every possible opportunity of making a new "rule," or altering an old one to the bewilderment of boys and undermasters alike. High-flown discourses are delivered on the benefits of "liberty," "progress," and other abstract principles; but when

it comes to putting these principles into practice, their professors obstinately refuse to part with the slightest fragment of real power. We shall be told that to scold and find fault is an easy task, but a worse than useless one unless a remedy is suggested. We answer that until the fault is pointed out, it is useless to talk of a remedy; it has been the object of our present remarks to clearly point out an existing fault, and not to rail vaguely. We believe we have succeeded in doing so. We would ask, "Does the Legislative Council at present possess the confidence of a single class in the country?" It is disliked by officials because of its incessant meddling and "tinkering" at the existing law; of the public generally, those who really desire the progress of India, and think seriously of its future, are disgusted at seeing those who ought to be its leaders uttering magniloquent and insincere orations on abstract principles, and either openly deriding their practical application, or passing measures which they know will be a sham; whilst that great class of the public that does not think but pays, feels that the only practical result of all these philanthropic professions is a grievous increase of taxation. But if we point out a fault, we are no less ready to suggest a remedy. We would say to the members of the Government—Consider carefully what was the intention of the framers of the Councils' Act, and then honestly resolve to carry out that intention. "Be not wise in your own conceit." Do not think that your speeches are unanswerable, because from the accidents of your position they are but mildly criticised. Do not believe that you know everything, and your colleagues nothing; it is quite possible for a man to be a man of thought and culture, although he has been engaged for 20 years in the practical management of an Indian district; your "theories" that you parade as startling discoveries may be ideas that have been known to him for years, and the truth of which he has repeatedly tested by practical experiment. A man is not necessarily a man of genius, because his name appears in every daily paper, nor is another necessarily a fool because he is unknown. Think not of your own knowledge, but of your own ignorance. Before declaring your measures perfect, go to the other side of the picture and try to see it as the people see it. We really believe that nothing would so benefit the Council as a cold weather recess, to be spent by them in acquiring knowledge. This knowledge is not obtained by a flying visit to the great men of a provincial capital; it must be sought for below the surface. Let a member spend a long visit, say a month, with a district officer; let him accompany him into camp, and see what the administration of a district really is; let him converse freely with his host, and not catechize him as a school-master; during the cold season he might pay at least three

such visits; on his return to Council at the end of them, the experience he would have gained would be invaluable. He would have learned on what points there is a real public feeling, and on what points a narrow-minded and ignorant official is trying to impose on us his prejudices as a public opinion which has no existence. This knowledge can only be gained by personal intercourse; the present plan of calling for opinions results only in a number of essays; the practical experience of the writers of which often varies inversely with their power of writing. The effect of this intercourse couid not fail to be socially beneficial; it would do much to diminish contemptuous arrogance on the one side, and an unreasoning and almost sullen dislike on the other. The country would feel confidence that the future Acts of the Council would be not a mere enactment of vague theories, but an honest endeavour to meet what the framers of the measure believe to be the actual wants of the people. A further experience would no doubt confirm the views of our legislators on some points, but it would most certainly modify them on others; what their new views might be we cannot pretend to say, the great point is that they would be based on actual knowledge and not on mere conjecture; on the greatest point of all we feel certain they would agree with us, and return to Council thoroughly convinced "that the country prays for rest."

Art. VII.—THE TEACHING OF MR. MAURICE.

"DEEP read professors," says Jean Paul Richter, "since they have become day-labourers, after the manner of condemned criminals, in the water-works and mining operations of the critical philosophy, weigh the existence of God as apathetically and as cold-heartedly as though it were a question of the existence of the kraken or the unicorn." The charge is true now of many people quite other than "deep read professors"—people who without any work in critical or other philosophy tell you as an ascertained fact, that Christianity is an exploded fable. And even among those who dissent from this statement there are few who seem to feel or perceive the vital and tremendous issues involved in it, supposing it to be true. Let us consider for a moment what it means. It means that Christ was either a liar or a monomaniac. It means that all the heroism, the constancy, the purity, the suffering which gradually erected the fabric of Christendom were put forth in behalf of a delusion. It means that this world with all its immeasurable burden of human woe, must wander on for ever, through the abyss of space, without a ray of hope to cheer its path. We do not mean that we are not to accept even these tremendous alternatives, if the evidence compels us to do so, but at any rate let us thoroughly understand the nature of the question in debate. At present, it seems at times as if men were ready to accept almost any explanation of the origin and destiny of man as more likely to be true than the Christian hypothesis. Professor Tyndall gets up, and in a lecture of half an hour, calmly deduces all the intellectual and physical life of the earth from a cloud of thin flame, amid universal plaudits at his speculative ability. Mr. Darwin declares we are nothing but marine ascidians, somewhat developed, and the world with one consent begins to rejoice; and even to get angry and call hard names if any one dares to object to this peculiar parentage. But if any one ventures to assert that in his belief the world and man are the creation of a God of Love who has revealed Himself as such in the person of His Son, he is regarded not without contempt, as an antique combination of the bigot and the fool and altogether behind the age.

These questions, however, are not so easily settled as some of us seem to suppose. The spiritual life of nineteen centuries cannot pass into nothingness at the *ipse dixit* of one. So long as sorrow and love remain in the world, the teaching of Christ and Paul and John will cleave closer to the hearts of human kind than that of Messrs. Huxley, Darwin, and Tyndall. That exalted frame of mind which would enable a man to say calmly, "I am but a

marine ascidian; what have I to do with God, and a world beyond the grave," will never be enjoyed but by a very few. Until we can cut out, as with a knife, the reason, affections and the imagination from the fabric of our inner life, the thoughts that wander through eternity will never consent to be imprisoned within the walls of sense. There is that within the mind of man, which aspires after, which will be satisfied with nothing less than, the revelation of a perfect good—an infinite love. To show the working of that aspiration in every period of this world's history; to explain how it has been met and fulfilled, and thereby to justify the ways of God to men, was the life work of Professor Maurice. His teaching in a special manner dug down beneath the accretions of centuries, and re-discovered for mankind the glad tidings of salvation once proclaimed at Jerusalem. So far as a single brief article will permit, we propose to give an account of the nature of the work which had to be done, and the principles which Mr. Maurice brought with him to the task.

The Reformation is generally spoken of compendiously as an assertion of the right of private judgment against the authority of the Church; but it would be truer to say that this principle was latent in it, than explicitly avowed. It certainly had nothing to do with that which provoked Luther's famous theses. Leo X., the Pope of that period, was a thoroughly unbelieving pagan with fine æsthetic sensibilities. These induced him to desire that Rome should be adorned with the finest church in the whole world. St. Peter's Church having thus become a subjective idea, the next question was—how to raise money to convert the subjective idea into an objective fact. No way seemed so likely to return a plentiful harvest as the sale of indulgences for sins. The Pope was Lord of both worlds,—might he not do what he would with his own? He preferred to build a Church in this world to inflicting punishments in the next, provided, that is, that he was properly paid for doing so. The idea, it must be confessed, was an excellent one from the commercial point of view contemplated by the Father of Christendom. No one who could escape the flames of purgatory by the expenditure of a sum of money would be likely to hesitate before he came down with the cash. But, alas! the best laid schemes of mice and men "gang aft agee." It had never occurred to the Pope that the sense of sin, simply as sin, could possibly be a source of discomfort to any one, so long as he was quite certain that it brought with sin no after punishment. The spirit of the great Apostle of the Gentiles had long ago ceased to influence the Church; and nothing could well have seemed more improbable, than that it should appear at this juncture clothed in the form of an Augustinian monk to wrestle once more with spiritual wickedness in high places. Yet so

it was. Of the Apostle Paul, a living divine has written:—"It is a new and hitherto unheard-of language in which the Apostle denounces sins. They are not moral evils but spiritual. They corrupt the soul; they defile the temple of the Holy Ghost; they cut men off from the body of Christ . . . . . From within, not from without, the nature of sin has to be explained; as it appears in the depths of the human soul, in the awakening conscience of mankind. Even its consequences in another state of being are but slightly touched upon, in comparison with that living death which itself is. It is not merely a vice or crime, or even an offence against the law of God, to be punished here or hereafter. It is more than this. It is what men feel in themselves, not what they observe in those around them; not what shall be, but what is; a terrible conciousness, a mystery of iniquity, a communion with unseen powers of evil."* Such, in so many words, was the sense of sin in the mind of Luther—a real veritable chain which held captive the will, and all the higher faculties of the mind. To suppose that a man could be loosed from this chain by the payment of a sum of money was to him flat blasphemy,—to set at nought the life and death of Christ, and the whole work of redemption. This inward condition of impurity was itself the punishment of sin, and a man could not be freed from the one without the other.

This re-discovery of the forgotten teaching of St. Paul changed the face of Europe; but in England little more than the echoes of Luther's trumpet-call sounded in the ears of the people. Meaner motives guided the nation in the direction of Protestantism—the plunder of the abbey lands on the part of the nobility, the desire for a young wife on the part of the king. But the persecutions of Queen Mary cemented with blood the foundations of the new faith. Queen Elizabeth, though perpetually coquetting with Rome, had sufficient penetration to see that she could not safely venture to do more; and the defeat of the Spanish Armada put an end finally even to the coquetry. Spain and England from thenceforth became the two rival representatives of the old and the new. But though it was an easy thing to renounce the authority of the Pope, it was not at all easy to eradicate the habits acquired in the school of Romanism. The principle of authority given up in theory, remained practically as powerful and trenchant as ever. The Bishops, of whom Laud may be considered as the type, unless restrained by the civil power, never hesitated to execute and mutilate Dissenters and Romanists in precisely the same manner as if they had been infallible members of an infallible organisation. They honestly believed that truth

* Jowett's Epistles of St. Paul.

and salvation could be found nowhere outside of the English Church as by law established; and they had been too long accustomed to see truth and salvation forced into the minds of men by the sheer weight of the secular arm, to perceive that persecution was inconsistent with their present position. Just so with the Puritan party, including in that title all the various shades of dissent which culminated in the Fifth Monarchy Men. These men had realised one side of Scripture teaching with wonderful clearness. They saw that if Christ was really what He affirmed Himself to be, His Spirit must in some way or other be in direct and immediate communication with the mind of man. Thence it was an easy step to the conviction that they themselves, as the great *upholders* of this tenet were, in some especial sense, the recipients of this Spirit; and consequently that all who persecuted or remained aloof from them, were *ipso facto* cut off from the body of the redeemed, and reserved for everlasting torments. Such malignants were stamped by their own acts as the enemies of God and of His elect, and as such, rightly delivered over to the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. The Puritan, like the High Churchman, found his final resource in the arm of flesh. These two parties, as every one knows, fought on with varying success, but unvarying animosity, until the Revolution of 1688, which saved both parties from falling under the old yoke of Romanism. Public opinion then set in strongly in favour of toleration. People began to perceive that on High Church principles it was impossible to justify the separation from Rome at all; that if the English Church was to become a persecuting agency, with the simple difference of persecuting in favour of a different form of doctrine, it would be only the substitution of one tyranny for another. On the other hand the sword of the Lord and of Gideon must also be got back into its sheath, and in some way fastened into it. The extravagances of private judgment—of "the inner light"—were quite as perilous to peace and order as the pretensions of churchmen. A third criterion of truth must be found, which should be recognised as such by all men. Out of this necessity sprang a new theological dictator named the *Reason*; it was never precisely defined, but it was assumed to belong to all men; all arguments had to be addressed to it, and the validity of the Christian religion had to be proved to the satisfaction of this Reason. Otherwise in the judgment of both the orthodox and the heterodox it had no claim on the convictions of mankind. Perhaps the word which at the present day is most nearly synonymous with Reason as understood by the eighteenth century divines is "common sense." The Common Sense—that which is to be found in all human beings alike—was erected into a sort of supreme judge on the most delicate

spiritual questions. Paley's writings are perhaps as good an example as any, of the manner in which the common sense divine dealt with the mysteries of Christianity. All that was really mysterious was kept out of sight. The ethical sanctions were the points on which the chief stress was laid. Hume, Paley considered, was quite right when he grounded all morality in the fact of its utility. Where he fell into error was in conceiving that men could be induced to be benevolent and honest, for the simple reason that it was on the whole useful to be so. A much stronger motive was required. That motive Paley discovered in what he held to be the Christian sanction, namely, that if you were not benevolent and honest, you would suffer everlasting torments after death; and if you were, you would enjoy everlasting happiness. The prospect of these two states of existence he considers a sufficient motive, or if they are not, it is quite certain nothing less would be. That being settled, the next thing was to determine if there was a God who had revealed these rewards and punishments. This Paley undertook to do, in his *Natural Theology* and his *Evidences of Christianity.* The adaptation of means to ends discernible through all the world of nature, animate and inanimate, was, he held, a sufficient proof of an intelligent Creator; and the power to work miracles was a sufficient proof of a messenger sent from God. The *Natural Theology* is the demonstration of the one thesis; the Evidences, the demonstration of the other. In this manner Christianity was very completely divested of the mystical splendours cast around it by the irrational enthusiasm of Evangelists and Apostles, and introduced to the common sense of the age as the best auxiliary to the parish constable that had yet been invented. This too exactly suited the temper of the time, and Paley was at once recognised as a mighty Defender of the Faith. The reader will at once perceive that a Christianity of this kind was a very safe thing indeed. The "inner light" having been quenched, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon must perforce rust idly in its sheath. The Church no longer had a motive to persecute, because the only piece of divine truth which had been entrusted to her did not refer to this world at all. Her mission was simply to declare that everlasting torments awaited all those in the next world, who were not sufficiently convinced in this of the utility of honesty and benevolence to make them the rule of their lives.

The French Revolution shattered into pieces this artificial fabric of a common sense Christianity. The characteristic of the eighteenth century—that which distinguishes it from all which went before it—is its cold and almost devilish inhumanity. Even in the fiercest persecutions of the Romish Church there is discernible a zeal for the spiritual well-being of humanity

which is more hopeful and less execrable than the stony atheistic indifference of this particular age. In whatever quarter of Europe we look, and at whatever time, we see the same monotonous and dreadful spectacle of misery, famine, and bloodshedding—never by any chance for a noble cause, but to gratify the whim of some Royal mistress, or the ambition of some court favourite. The kings and their nobles, in every country in Europe (England included), regarded the common people as simple instruments to carry out their pleasure, whatever that might be. They shed their blood like so much water; they fed themselves fat on the sweat of the peasant and the pittance of the widow and the orphan.* There could have been but one termination

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* There is a terrible account of these things in Erckmann-Chatrian's "Story of a Peasant," from which we make an extract, because we believe that there are still people to be found who suppose the French Revolution to have been a quite unprovoked eruption of human ferocity. "I am not to be made to believe that the peasantry was happy before the Revolution; I have seen what they call 'the good old times;' I have seen our old villages; .... I have seen the lean, scraggy labourers—with—neither shirts, nor sabots, but only a frock and linen pantaloons, summer and winter alike; their wives so sunburnt, so filthy and ragged that they might be taken for beasts; their children hanging about the doors with nothing but a rag to cover them round their loins. Even the seigneurs themselves could not help writing in their books at that time 'that the poor animals bent over the ground in sunshine and in rain to get bread, for every one ought at least to have a little of it to eat.' They wrote thus in a moment of good feeling and then they thought no more of it. These things are never to be forgotten ..... And old people used to speak of a state of things still worse; they talked about the great wars of the Swedes and the French and the Lorrainers—the Seven Years' war—when they hanged the peasants to the trees in bunches; they spoke of the great plague which followed to complete the ruin of every net. You could go for leagues without meeting a soul." Or take the companion picture of a historian, though no historian ever wrote truer history than the two French novelists. "Close viewed," says Carlyle, speaking of the French nobility, "their industry and function is that of dressing gracefully and eating sumptuously. As for their debauchery and depravity it is perhaps unexampled since the era of Tiberius and Commodus. ..... Such are the shepherds of the people; and now how fares it with the flock? with the flock as is inevitable, it fares ill and ever worse. They are not tended, they are only regularly shorn. They are sent for to do statute labour and to pay statute taxes; to fatten battle fields (named beds of honour) with their bodies in quarrels which are not theirs; their hand and toil is in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or no possession. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed; to pine stagnantly in thick obscuration, squalid destitution, and obstruction; this is the lot of the millions." And, quoting from the same great writer, this was the result,—"When it seemed as if no Reality any longer existed, but only Phantasms of realities, and God's Universe were the work of the tailor and upholsterer mainly, and men were buckram masks that went about becking and grimac-

to that horrible state of things, and what that was we all know. The great world of kings and nobles and fine ladies had been fiddling and dancing over a volcano, which suddenly broke forth in flame and thunder, and swallowed them up. The particular circumstance, however, with which we have to deal, is the fundamental principle of the French Revolutionist—the absolute unquestionable supremacy of the Reason. This Reason was in truth the "inner light" of the Fifth Monarchy man divested of its theological origin. Rousseau, the originator of this article of faith, repellent as his general character must always be, had one honourable quality which distinguished him from all the wits and philosophers of his day. He had a profound and eager sympathy for the sorrow and the pain of the poor and helpless. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, and the rest of that school never advanced beyond an intellectual perception of the contradictions and injustices among which they lived. They could ridicule them, and at the same time thoroughly enjoy them. The world with all its wrongs and absurdities was a pleasant world to them; they eat and drank of its best; were the friends of kings and empresses, and mingled in the most unexceptionable society. To have attempted seriously to overthrow such a system of things because abstract Reason or abstract Justice demanded it—to have substituted an enraged and hungry people for these exquisitely mannered lords and ladies, would have seemed to them the freak of a raving lunatic. Not so with Rousseau. The sorrows and oppression of the poor he felt as though they were his own. It was the recoil from the hateful spectacle of the world before him, which carried him away into that admiration of savage life that has ever since been a puzzle to his critics. Rousseau knew nothing of savage life, but he may be pardoned if he deemed the independence of the mountain and the forest a better atmosphere for the growth of humanity, than that hideous eighteenth century with its debauched kings, its sham nobility, atheistic clergy, and bleeding and wretched peasantry.

Ever since the "divine rights of kings" had come to an untimely end in the expulsion of King James II., the efforts of all thinking men had been engaged in devising some new foundation on which to rest the legitimacy of government. It was felt that the expulsion of James might be converted into a most unpleasant

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ing there—on a sudden, the earth yawns asunder, and amid Tartarean smoke and glare of fierce brightness rises SANSCULOTTISM, many-headed, fire-breathing, and asks,—What think ye of *me?* Well may the buckram masks start together terror struck 'into expressive well-concerted groups.' It is indeed, friends, a most singular, most fatal thing. Let whosoever is but buckram and a phantasm look to it; ill verily may it fare with him; here methinks he cannot much longer be."

precedent against any existing authority which the people did not approve. Locke was the magician who contrived to slide in between the "Will of the People" and the legality of the government that ingenious fiction of an "original contract" entered into at some unknown period of the world's history, whereby the people had agreed to surrender in perpetuity a portion of their liberty of action to their rulers. It is difficult to conceive how any one could have derived any consolation from such a transparent imposture. Bnt a world, "the work of the tailor and upholsterer mainly," had, we suppose, a natural affinity for the unreal, and conceived that by means of this original contract, it had built its house upon immoveable granite. It was this granite rock that Rousseau shattered to pieces in his great work on the *Contrat Social.*

The idea of an original contract he scouted as a palpable absurdity. If it was the case that such a grant of dominion was made to Adam or Noah, it might, for aught he knew to the contrary, have descended upon him. But there could be no such contract. There were no parties between whom it could be made. The quality which distinguished man from the brute creation was the light of Reason. We could fell the tree, or harness the horse, merely as a means to an end—using both the one and the other as instruments to accomplish a purpose which was not theirs. But we could not do so with man; we could not set aside his possession of Reason, and use him simply as a tool, without the commission of a crying wrong. And what it was wrong for one man to do, could not be made right though all the kings of the earth leagued together to attempt it. The Reason in each man was his supreme lawgiver, and no power on earth had a moral *right* to coerce it. Arguing from these high *a priori* principles, Rousseau declared that no government whatever had a particle of *right* to claim the allegiance of a single one of its subjects, except in so far as it accorded with the ideas of that subject's Reason; neither on the other hand, could the subject obey any government which did not answer to this condition without committing high treason against that Reason which had the exclusive right to govern his actions. All government must, in fact, be an expression of pure Reason or it was good for nothing. But how to get this pure Reason embodied in an objective form? By means of great national assemblies. The errors and caprices of individuals are, in such assemblies, neutralised by opposite errors, "and the winds rushing from all quarters at once with equal force, produce for the time a deep calm, during which the general will arising from general Reason displays itself."†

Rousseau, however, had quite sufficient discernment to know that large assemblies of men are not invariably carried away into the

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* Coleridge's Friend, vol. i., p. 255.

regions of pure Reason, but quite as often into those of Passion, or any other political madness; and he drew a distinction between "the will of all" and "the will of the majority," declaring that only the former carried with it the authority of Reason—a distinction far too subtle to be regarded or even apprehended by a people groaning under the oppressions of injuries, and filled with intense hatred for those who oppressed them.

These startling propositions descended into the minds of the French people like sparks on a powder magazine. Coleridge tells us in one of his essays how he had met "with men of intelligence who at the commencement of the Revolution were travelling on foot through the French provinces, and they bear witness, that in the remotest villages every tongue was employed in echoing and enforcing the doctrines of the Parisian journalists" (*i.e.*, the principles of Rousseau); "that the public highways were crowded with enthusiasts, some shouting the watchwords of the Revolution, others disputing on the most abstract principles of the universal constitution, which they fully believed that all the nations of the earth were shortly to adopt; the most ignorant among them confident of his fitness for the highest duties of a legislator; and all prepared to shed their blood in the defence of the inalienable sovereignty of the self-governed people. The more abstract the notions were, with the closer affinity did they combine with the most fervent feelings, and all the immediate impulses to action."

The "Reason" of the French revolutionist was, as we have already said, identical with the "inner light" of the Fifth Monarchy man; but the Fifth Monarchy man found the most perfect expression of the "inner light" in the Jewish polity; the Frenchman, in the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Reason being the distinctive attribute of man, and the same in all men, all men were necessarily united by it in an equal bond of brotherhood; Reason at the same time being the supreme law, each man was entitled to absolute freedom of action, as being a complete polity in himself. But they were similar in this, that they both held themselves bound to yield an unquestioning submission to any mandates they supposed to issue from the voice within them. Hence their scornful disregard of the historical precedent,—their absolute hatred of the teaching of experience; and hence, also, that combination of savage intolerance and enthusiastic heroism which distinguished them. The Pure Reason decreed the death of all aristocrats either real or suspected, as enemies of the universal constitution, and all the land of France was drenched with blood in consequence; but the Pure Reason decreed also that France should be freed from foreign tyrants, and thereby evoked in Frenchmen a courage and an endurance which the world has but rarely seen. Pure Reason became

in a word, the Frenchman's God, and for a time by far the strongest one in a world made by "the tailor and upholsterer." But Pure Reason, as we know, soon degenerated into pure lust of conquest; and the lust of conquest kindled that great awakening of national life in Spain, Germany, and Russia which drove Napoleon from his throne, and has in these latter days wrought out the unity of Italy and Germany. These tremendous events were as the revelations of a new world to the greatest minds in England. It is impossible to compare the writings of Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Wordsworth, or Scott with any of their forerunners in the eighteenth century, and not to be conscious of a marvellous and radical change. The "phantasm world" had passed away with a confused noise and garments rolled in blood. Life had assumed a new and a profounder meaning. The spiritual capacities of human nature were suddenly laid bare, and men gazed at them amazed as recovered treasures which had long ago been lost and forgotten in the depths of some unfathomable sea.

A religion of the Paleyan type could no more furnish a resting place for the master spirits of that stormy time, than a hencoop would content the mountain eagle "sailing with supreme dominion through the azure realms of air." There was, it is true, the evangelicalism which had grown up out of the preaching of the two Wesleys and Whitfield. But this type of Christianity, originating as it did in the apprehension of certain profound spiritual realities, had rapidly petrified into a hard and repulsive system of dogma. Looked at from the outside, it did not represent Christianity as a free gift of salvation offered to all men, but a boon reserved for a few on certain intellectual conditions. Naturally, the Evangelical averred, all men on account of the sin of Adam were doomed to everlasting torments for the crime of being born. To obviate this necessity, God had provided a remedy, the details of which are to be found in the New Testament. The remedy was to put His Son to death, "as if," to quote the language of an English divine "eternal love resolved in fury to strike, and so as He had His blow, it mattered not whether it fell on the whole world, or on the precious head of His own chosen Son." But singularly enough though Christ had suffered and died, though the (so-called) justice of God had been appeased by the blood of an innocent victim, mankind remained in the same miserable condition as before. The remedy was effectual in the case of those only who believed it to be a *bonâ fide* remedy. If a man was sceptical, or even if he was so unfortunate as not to have heard of the remedy at all, (although in that case, there is a saving clause known as "uncovenanted mercies" which may help him at a pinch)—then so far as he was concerned there was no remedy. He was still in his sins.

We are aware beforehand that an Evangelical would cry out

against the above account of his theology as a gross caricature. Viewed from *within*, this singular scheme of salvation has appeared to thousands of devout minds, as irradiated through and through with the splendour of divine love. But we are speaking of it as it appeared to those that were without; men like Shelley and Byron who would gladly have found some ultimate faith as a foundation for their existence, but turned away from this as the revelation of a Moloch, rather than a God of love. The glorious hope, so speedily quenched in blood, which had arisen with the downfall of the French Monarchy, the cruel and hateful reaction which crushed the liberties of Europe after the peace of 1815, had forced upon all thinking men an intolerable sense of the mysteries and contradictions of existence. They did not care for an escape for themselves alone, out of a world given over to evil and misery. What they desired to know was, whether there existed any Power anywhere who could and would set the world right, who could and would fight for the slave, the widow, and the orphan against the tyrant and the oppressor. Evangelicalism answered in effect, that of any such Power they knew nothing whatever. So far as they had any information on the subject, the miseries of this world were only a feeble preliminary of those infinitely greater agonies which awaited human beings in the next. They had, however, this *nostrum*. If Shelley or Byron would become an evangelical, he would be safe. This, however, Shelley and Byron did not find it possible to do; and their writings remain to us a profoundly interesting commentary on the religious orthodoxy of their day, and the record of thoughts which must have been working in a multitude of minds, who had no power to give them expression.

At this time, moreover, the very foundation of Evangelicalism, its belief in the verbal inspiration of scripture, was being rapidly sapped away by the advance of German criticism. We hear but little now of verbal inspiration; such of the clergy as still cling to the tenet deeming it wisest to say very little about it. But thirty years ago it was held to be the very corner stone of Christianity. Coleridge, when he ventures to argue against it in his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, does so with the air of a man who is leading a forlorn hope. He has to avow again and again that he has no wish to extirpate Christianity root and branch, but he seems to be tolerably certain that his design will be deemed to be nothing less. When the late Dean Milman published the first edition of his History of the Jews, he was assailed by a howl of indignation from the orthodox world because he had dared to call Abraham a Sheikh. In those days the Bible was indeed a book *sui generis*. The Old Testament was held to be either entirely typical, or entirely predictive. The patriarchs, kings, lawgivers

soldiers,—nay even the entire people of Israel were not men at all. They were types of the New Testament—self-conscious types, who recognised themselves as such, and regulated the whole conduct of their lives so as to manifest most completely this typical character. The Prophets were exclusively predicters of future events, not merely events which concerned the Jews, but incidents relating to the Pope of Rome, the Turks, Napoleon Buonaparte, and other notable people. There was none of the life of humanity in the Bible at all. You might cut it into ten thousand pieces, tear a text out of it utterly regardless of the context; throw it thus raw and bleeding at the head of an infidel, and every right-minded orthodox person was quite convinced that you had completely demolished him. Of the Book of Revelations we need not speak. The trumpets, vials, and all the sublime symbolism of that book, are still being used in the wild and wonderful manner which was once applied to the whole book. To crown all, by an easy and natural fallacy, the infallibility which was supposed to belong to the Bible, was made to extend to the Evangelical interpretation of it. If you dissented from the interpretation, you were thought to reject the authority of the book. Such was the condition of English Christianity between 1830-40, when Mr. Maurice published his first great work, "The Kingdom of Christ." It seemed to lie—a lifeless corpse—amid a world shaken and racked by vast and novel forces which came forth from mental depths whither it had never penetrated, and over which it had no control. "Can these dead bones live?" That was the question. Men were not wanting who believed they could, although they sought to revivify them in different ways. On the one side were the leaders of the High Church movement, Pusey, Keble, Newman, and others; on the other the founders of the Broad Church, Arnold, Milman, Julius Hare, and Mr. Maurice. Few inquiries would be more interesting than to trace the growth of these two phases of English spiritual life, and mark their action and reaction one upon another; but this is not our present purpose. We have only to do with the teaching of a single theologian. There is, however, one remark which we think it necessary to make. The leaders of the High Church movement combined together to teach a certain definite system of theology, about which they all were of one mind; hence there is no injustice done if we hold them collectively responsible for any of the opinions expressed in the "Tracts for the Times." Tract XC., for example, expressed the sentiments of Pusey and Keble quite as correctly as those of Newman. But there is no such uniformity of thought among Broad Church theologians. It is in the moral attitude they assume towards Inquiry that they resemble each other, not in the principles they apply to the inter-

pretation of Scripture. They are one in contending for the unfettered freedom of the mind to direct its researches in any direction it pleases; but there the similarity ceases. Mr. Ryle does not differ more radically from Dr. Pusey than Mr. Maurice does from Mr. Jowett, or Archdeacon Hare and Dean Milman from the writers in the "Essays and Reviews," or Bishop Colenso.

German criticism, at the time Mr. Maurice entered the battle-ground of theology, had, as we have said, sapped the foundations of Evangelicalism. The Bible had been treated like any other book —the Jews like any other people; and for the purposes of Evangelical theology both appeared to have emerged from the encounter most seriously damaged, if not wounded to death. It was impossible now to deny that Abraham was a Sheikh, and not merely a type,—that the early Patriarchs were men, and men too who did very questionable things. Moses, these audacious critics declared, had not written the Pentateuch, at least in its present form; and the Prophets were moral teachers, not primarily or mainly predicters of future events. They had no knowledge of the Turks or Napoleon Buonaparte; and in a word the Old Testament was simply the literature of an insignificant and partially civilised people, thickly studded with the legends, errors, and supernatural beliefs natural to the circumstances in which the various writings were produced. Such were the objections and difficulties which Mr. Maurice had to encounter. Writing some time ago in the *Englishman*, the author of this paper showed how Mr. Maurice turned the flank of these objections rather than met them face to face. We need not repeat in detail what we then said. Briefly stated, Mr. Maurice diverted the mind of the student from the authorship of a book, to that which it contained. This he held to be the important point. If, for example, the book of Deuteronomy set forth the true and only source of national prosperity, it was of small moment if the letters of it were written down by Moses or Ezra or some other person unknown. If, on the other hand, it simply hung out a series of false lights to lure the seeker upon rocks and breakers, the mere fact that it was written by Moses, would not avail to make it less pernicious. In adopting this line of argument, Mr. Maurice was very far from conceding their conclusions to the "destructive" critics. He simply addressed himself to a different task, feeling that Christianity could never be the universal faith it claimed to be, if all belief in it must be preceded by a tedious and intricate historical inquiry. Taking the Old Testament simply as the religious literature of the Jewish people, containing as such their conception of the nature of God, and His government of the world, was that conception, he asked, a true one, when tried by the test of universal history? This mode of stating the problem at once relieved the

Christian from the task of defending an untenable theory of inspiration, and removed the discussion to the sure ground of historical fact. The truth of the prophetic teaching first ascertained by a close and searching induction was made the ground of their inspiration; instead of the *assumption* of their inspiration being used to establish the truth of their teaching. The belief in a divine government—the one God ruling in righteousness—is, according to Mr. Maurice, that which gives a unity to all the writings of the Old Testament. We perceive it growing into greater clearness to the inner eye of Jewish seer, prophet, and historian through all the changes of their nation's history. There is to their inspired insight nothing purposeless or wanton either in the march of history or the endless transformations of nature. The heavens declare the glory of God—the wind and storm are obedient to His word. The deliverance of the Israelites from the hand of Pharaoh, and the destruction of their enemies in the Red Sea, were not miracles to them in our sense of the word—arbitrary interferences with the ordinary course of nature. They were *signs* of the divine government of a God who felt for the slave and hated oppression. And so also were every triumph and every trial which the chosen people exulted in or endured. "Prophecy," says Mr. Maurice, "according to their use and understanding of it, is the utterance of the mind of Him who was, and is, and is to come. Events, days of the Lord, crises in national history were manifestations of His everlasting mind and purpose. The seer was to explain the past and the present; only in connection with these did he speak of the future. He told what curses men were bringing upon themselves by transgressing the laws which individuals and nations were created to obey. He told how the purposes of the Divine will were developing themselves in a regular progression, in despite of the opposition of all self-will. He told how they would move on steadily, till all that God wills for man, for this universe, for His own glory, has been accomplished."

But if God be the perfectly righteous Being, the root of evil must then exist somewhere in the nature of man. The change that he needs, is a thorough regeneration of the inner man by some Power other than himself, who is not fettered by the chain of evil which imprisons him. This is the point of transition in which the old covenant merges into the new. The Old Testament treats of God in His relations with a nation; the New, in His relations with the individual. The Old Testament reveals the divinely ordained laws which ensure the peace and prosperity of the world; the New, the spiritual Powers who are working to bring the wills of men into harmony with them.

During the eighteenth century, the free-thinking philosophers had not been aware of any deep significance in the religious feelings of

mankind. They deemed religions (Christianity included) to be in the main devices of the priests to increase their own importance, which easily succeeded owing to the ignorance and folly of the vulgar. Nothing can exceed the ineffable contempt with which Hume regards all such delusions of the human mind. "If," he says, theology went not beyond reason and common sense, her doctrines would appear too easy and familiar. Amazement must of necessity be raised; mystery affected; darkness and obscurity sought after; and a foundation of merit afforded to the devout votaries who desire an opportunity of subduing their rebellious reason by the belief of the most unintelligible sophisms. Ecclesiastical history sufficiently confirms these reflections. When a controversy is started, some people always pretend with certainty to foretell the issue. Whichever opinion, say they, is most contrary to plain sense is sure to prevail; even where the general interest of the system requires not that decision . . . . . To oppose the torrent of scholastic religion by such feeble maxims as these, that *it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be*, that *the whole is greater than a part*, that *two and three make five;* is pretending to stop the ocean with a bulrush. Will you set up profane reason against sacred mystery? No punishment is great enough for your impiety. And the same fires which were kindled for heretics, will serve also for the destruction of philosophers." This serene scorn was doomed to be rudely shaken. Men found with amazement that religions were not of necessity made by lying and crafty priests. The rising of the French people, as the worshippers of Pure Reason, showed that what men had known as religious faith, needed no theological mysteries to waken it into a most fearful and destructive activity. It was innate in man. Philosophers must study it; and the "comparative study of religions" began. As in the case of the Old Testament, the old orthodox fences which surrounded the New began speedily to crumble away and fall to pieces, the moment that their strength was tried. To whatever religion the inquirer turned, Buddhism, Bráhmanism, or the faith of Zoroaster, he met with the same ideas which had found expression in Christianity. There was everywhere the same craving after a fuller knowledge of the ultimate source of life and reason; the same demand for a Redeemer or Deliverer; the same tendency to clothe with divinity the memory of some bygone teacher or prophet,—in a word imperfect expressions of precisely the same feelings which had given birth to Christianity. What was the inevitable conclusion? That all religions are but the workings of a certain theological faculty within us, and the life and character of Christ nothing but the myths which have grown up around the memory of a good man—the mind, self-deceived, affecting to find in him that ideal of perfection which existed only within itself. The four Gospels were

converted into a system of philosophy, and Christ Himself was dissolved away into the *idea of humanity*, "since plainly no such life was liveable." *

Mr. Maurice accepts all the facts which the researches of German theologians and philosophers have discovered. There has been in all the great nations who have left their mark upon the world this intense yearning for the knowledge of God. But is it not a contradiction in terms to say that this yearning has sprung up, so to speak, self-engendered? Does it not show that there is that within man which can receive communications from a Being higher than himself? nay more, does it not show that some rays of light from that higher region must already have penetrated to the dark chambers of his mind? otherwise why this craving for a fuller illumination? If human beings had been born deaf, they could have had no craving for music. If no window had been let into the soul to receive light from above, we, like the animals about us, would never have suffered from this perpetual unrest. This demand again for some messenger from God Himself to reveal His will, this tendency to invest one of ourselves with the divine knowledge we long after,—these facts are not sufficient to convert Christ into a myth. They merely show that if God is to reveal Himself at all to men, He must do so under the conditions of humanity; that in Christian language, the Word must take flesh and dwell among men, if they are to behold and apprehend the glory of the Father. The evidence then of a revelation would seem to be its power of meeting and satisfying these various demands which arise from the reason and the conscience. Even this, *per se*, may not be sufficient, but without it all other (so-called) evidence would be worthless. Now if we take the three great religions which, in their spiritual significance, approach nearest to Christianity, we find that to the Bráhman, that higher life of which his mind is conscious, is represented in his thought as the Pure Intelligence; and the whole aim of his life and discipline is to purify himself from outward sensible things that he may

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* Mr. Browning has given an exquisite account of this speculation in his poem "Christmas Day." A German professor *loquitur*:—

So, he purposed inquiring first
  Into the various sources whence
This myth of Christ is derivable;
  Demanding from the evidence,
(Since plainly no such life was liveable)
  How these phenomena should class?
Whether it were best opine Christ was,
  Or never was at all, or whether
He was or was not both together—
  It matters little for the name,
So the idea be left the same, &c. &c.

approach nearer to this One Source of illumination. So also the Buddhist; while the follower of Zoroaster conceives it as proceeding from the Lord of all Light, mental as well as material. Each is a profoundly true and beautiful conception; and yet an imperfect one, which covered but a very small fraction of the universe. If God be Pure Intelligence, and Pure Light, whence then come evil and ignorance, and pain and sorrow? These too must have their primal source somewhere; and in response to that inquiry the dark forms of Siva the Destroyer, of Dharma the Principle of Matter, of Ahriman the Lord of Darkness, gradually assume shape and consistency before the brooding imagination of the devotee. Thus enters in the principle of Manicheeism, with all the terrible corruptions which follow in its train, which has broken up the pure monotheism of Bráhman and Buddhist into a gross and obscene idolatry, and which, in all three religions, speedily substituted the principle of evil for that of good as the real effectual ruler of the universe. This Manicheeism has eaten into the very heart of the East. The Persian no longer speaks of Ahriman, and the English-speaking Bábú would certainly smile with good-humoured contempt if any one suspected him of being a believer in Siva the Destroyer. But though the name may be forgotten, the corruption bred by centuries of devil worship has closed up that other window of the soul, which let in light from the Pure Intelligence, the Lord of Light. Mere negation, which means an apathetic acceptance of evil, as something immortal and irremediable, and not altogether unpleasant, has taken the place of both. This is precisely the frame of mind which Christianity seeks to correct. The Hindu dreamed of a Word proceeding from the Pure Intelligence (Brahma), the Persian of a Light emanating from the Fountain of Light, which were the source of all that was true and good in themselves. But the terrible consciousness of evil within and without, could notbe shut out by that belief. It mingled with it perforce; and converted each individual soul into a battle ground where good and evil, light and darkness, fought age after age in never ending conflict. Christianity meets and accepts this terrible experience. "Nowhere," to quote Mr. Maurice's exact language, "more distinctly than in Christian theology is there the recognition of the fact which the Siva-worshipper perceives; nowhere less effort to make men comfortable, by dissembling the fact that misery and death have gotten hold of the earth; nowhere a more emphatic affirmation of the witness which the hearts and consciences of men have borne everywhere, but with special earnestness in Hindústán, that in them, in the region of man's inner being, is the fiercest debate with the evil which he sees without; that there, in that region, he has to encounter it in its highest form, in its most radical principle. The Gospel does not start with a philosophical

lie; what man by bitter experience has discovered to be his condition, it assumes to be his condition." (The Religions of the World, p. 174). But with this admission it provides also a way of escape. It is true, Christianity declares, as you have believed, that there is a Word, or Light, proceeding from the Supreme Intelligence, the Fountain of Light, or as He has been revealed to us, the Eternal Father; and this light is the life and light of every human being born into the world. *This Word has taken flesh*, expressly to deliver men from those dreams of a Power of Destruction, engendered by the sense of evil, and the reproaches of conscience; and to make them the servants of Him and of His Father, and of them only. He has done this, by the revelation, under the conditions of humanity, of the almighty power and infinite love of God. Here is the central point of the revolution which Mr. Maurice effected in Christian theology. He transformed it from a system of doctrine resting upon the assumed infallibility of a book, into the manifestation of a divine life working in the souls of men—of men not as Christians only, but by virtue of their humanity. He cast aside the dead letter, and rediscovered Christ as a living Power illumining the spiritual life of mankind in every country, and through every period of the world's history. Under this new aspect, all the exclusiveness and narrowness which had hitherto been the reproach of Christianity slipped away from it like a worn-out garment, and the whole question was transferred from the sterile regions of dogmatic theology into those of history and psychology.

The argument itself, as all arguments must, will have a different value to different minds. There are those who can look with calmness upon all the religious faiths of mankind, and the good and evil they have wrought as "a tale of little meaning though the words be strong." Man, they say, is confined on every side by the conditions of his understanding, and it is useless for him to beat himself against the bars of his prison-house. The Finite and the Relative can have no knowledge of the Absolute or the Infinite; and falls into ridiculous contradictions when it conceives itself to have effected anything of the kind. Such minds are shut against the reasoning of Mr. Maurice. He might as well attempt to describe colours to a man blind from his youth. But the majority of men are not so constituted; and they might reply as follows:—Whether or not we can hold converse with the Absolute or the Infinite, it is simply matter of fact that we do hold converse one with another. The evil and the good that are in the persons about us can be communicated to us, to degrade or elevate, to strengthen or corrupt, as the case may be. Neither for such a purpose is actual visible intercourse needful. The *word* that has proceeded from a person may pass into me, though he has long ago been gathered to his fathers. If then all

the scattered fragments of good which are about in the world flow from One divine Person, He must be able to hold converse with our minds as easily as we hold converse with each other. The infinity that is an attribute of His Being does not mean extension in space, but the infinite goodness and love, which unceasingly feed and strengthen the souls of men and yet are never exhausted. It is true that we can never know Him as He knows us, but neither can the ordinary mind know, in all their fulness, the mental riches of a Shakespeare or a Milton, nor the mortal eye take in at a single glance the vast expanse of the starry heavens. But not the less, the eye does see them; the mind can hold converse with the mind of Shakespeare or of Milton—why then should the mind of God be alone excluded from the possibility of such intercourse? If then, looking back upon past ages, we find that men everywhere have been more or less conscious of such an intercourse in themselves, have clung to this belief,

> Though nature, red in tooth and claw
> With ravine, shrieked against their creed;

if we, in our best moments are aware of a Presence within, passing a voiceless judgment on the secret history of our lives which no mortal eye has ever seen,—for such minds, we say, the arguments of Mr. Maurice will carry an almost irresistible force. And if there be a Being above all, who cares for and watches over the creatures He has made, but sees them under the hard necessity of things falling into the servitude of gods other than Himself, —of sin and evil and misery,—it would not be an infraction, but a vindication of His everlasting order if He came forth from behind the veil to win them back to Himself. "Accordingly," says Mr. Maurice, "we accept the fact of the Incarnation, because we feel that it is impossible to know the absolute and invisible God as man needs to know Him, and craves to know Him, without an Incarnation. Secondly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation, not perceiving how we can recognise a perfect Son of God, and Son of Man, such as man needs and craves for, unless he were in all points tempted like as we are. Thirdly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation because we ask of God a redemption, not for a few persons from certain evil tendencies, but for humanity from all the plagues by which it is tormented." (Theological Essays.)

But, it will be objected, and with reason, that the internal need of an incarnation, how great soever it may be, cannot alone establish the fact of one. That event, if it really happened, is an event in history like the battle of Waterloo, or any other remarkable incident; and like them, can be credited only upon sufficient evidence. Hitherto, the sceptic might say, you have asked us to

receive it on the authority of a Book, which you declared to be written under the immediate inspiration of God, and as such miraculously preserved from error. But this authority has crumbled away under pressure like a heap of sand. The Book may still be inspired, supposing the message it contains can be shown to be true; but it is no longer possible to assume the infallibility of the Book, and deduce thence the fact of the Incarnation. What then is your evidence to show, that what you term the Incarnation of Christ is not but one more added to the like delusions to be found in other religions? The answer to this objection is to be found in, and can be gathered fully only from, the whole compass of, Mr. Maurice's theological writings. But it is perhaps possible even in the space at our disposal to indicate briefly his line of thought.

Greek, Roman and Egyptian, Hindú, Persian and Muhammadan,—all these various nations, we find seeking after God, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him. They each bring their quota to the education of the human race. We cannot conceive of any one of these nations or their works being blotted out of memory, without occasioning an irremediable loss to the perfect development of humanity. Only, various as were their religious faiths, they all alike bore within them the seeds of decay and corruption. The original intuition of God's presence did not gain in clearness and grandeur as the years passed by, but degenerated into gross material forms of idolatry which reacted upon the nation to the utter loss of every healthy and progressive quality. But even in their fallen state, these nations continue to bear witness of that inextinguishable craving after the Unseen which haunts humanity. They do so by their superstitions as they once did by their faith. Now it is evident that no amount of evidence which might be brought together respecting the authenticity or the inspiration of their sacred books, could ever set any of these old faiths upon their feet again. They have been tested in the furnace of facts, and have succumbed under the trial.

But there has also been one nation—originally a horde of slaves in Egypt and subsequently settled in Palestine,—who in some mysterious manner became possessed with the belief that the God of the whole universe had selected them to declare His name to the world. They were "never good for much at any time." They were specially addicted to idolatry. They were noted for the ease and rapidity with which they transferred their allegiance from one idol to another. They certainly never acted as if they wished to win the hearts of men to the worship of the One God. And yet this is precisely what they have done in spite of themselves. While every other nation of the old world was worshipping wood and stone, there was a double movement going on in the heart of the

Jewish people. Side by side with the idolatry of kings, priests, and people, sounded the withering scorn and denunciation of the Jewish prophets. The vision of God enlarges continually before their "inner eye." They declare there will be hereafter a perfect unveiling of His mind and character, so soon as the world is prepared to receive it. The fulness of time comes. The son of a Jewish carpenter declares himself to his followers—a few ignorant fishermen—as the Incarnate Son of God, foretold by the Prophets, and is soon after crucified as a malefactor by the Roman Governor; with the consent of the chiefs of the nation, whose Saviour he affirmed himself to be. Here is the whole genesis and origin of Christianity. The most "destructive" of critics will admit that no criticism of manuscripts can shake us here. But it is at this point that the real mystery of Christianity begins. The latent seed of corruption which mingles in all earthly teaching, however true and elevated it may be, is that after a time the teacher himself must go helpless thenceforth to preserve his principles from being warped into error or consigned altogether to oblivion. Many brave men lived before Agamemnon; but their bravery and worth are now as worthless to the world as though they had never existed. In Christianity alone is this evil provided against. Hardly had their Master been buried, when His disciples declared that He had risen and ascended into heaven, and that previous to His Ascension he had bidden them go forth and conquer the world, confident that His Spirit would be with them to guide the world to the truth. Strong in this promise, the disciples—a few ignorant fishermen of Galilee—fear not to enter into conflict with the might of the Roman Empire. They conquer it. They sow far and wide the seeds of that new life whence has emerged that Christendom of the West, so rich in the experience of the past, so full of young and vigorous life. It is idle to speak of this mighty achievement as simply due to some abstract notion of "progress." Why then has it not been universal? why should the East retrograde incessantly into profounder depths of corruption, and the area of progress be limited to the area of Christianity? It is equally fallacious to say that the West has hit upon the law of progress by (what might be termed) a lucky accident. There is no single vice—no persecution, cruelty, bigotry, debauchery—which has sullied the East, whose blood-stained track may not be traced through the annals of the West. If men could have changed the faith of Christ into a lie—if they could have converted His teaching into something synonymous with the anguish and slaughter of mankind, the Romish Church with her fierce theological rancour, her Inquisitions, her open profligacy and infidelity, would assuredly have done so. But the Spirit of Christ (there is no other term that can adequately interpret the phenomena)

has been present all along, amid the clouds and thick darkness to guide the world to the truth. While every other religious faith has lost its hold upon the inner life of its votaries, the divinity and ethics of Christ have taken undisputed possession of the West. Purity in mind and act, truthfulness in word and thought, the feeling of an universal brotherhood, the innate dignity of humanity, however short of these things Christians may fall in their practice, there is no debate that these ought to be the governing principles of conduct. At this present moment, there is no one who is capable of instituting a comparison, but must admit that the highest theology of the day has a far wider and profounder apprehension of the scope of Christ's work, than that of any preceding time. All this is readily explicable if we accept Christ's account of Himself, if we believe that He is the Light who lighteth every man, and that His Spirit, as He said it would, has been convincing the world, in spite of itself, of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. Except on this supposition, it is impossible, it seems to us, to conjecture a reason why the West has not sunk into the stagnant condition of the East.

The problem we must bear in mind is one far more intricate and mysterious than to account for the general movement of an age towards more humane ways of life. It is to account for a new formative spiritual power working in the inner life of the individual. The ethics of Christ, supposing him to be simply a great moral teacher, or even if we advance a step further and concede to him the power of working miracles, could not have effected that sudden transformation in the minds of the Apostles which took place *after* his death; could not have brought about that deepening and enlargement of spiritual life, which in the worst days of the Roman Empire produced the literature of the New Testament; or that sense of the abiding impurity and hatefulness of sin which has grown with the growth of Christianity. These changes require, to explain them, the supposition of some living Power constantly present and at work upon the conscience and reason of the individual. It cannot be a Power natural to man as such, because in that case it would operate uniformly throughout the world. Retrogression either for the nation or the individual would be morally impossible. What then can this power be? The Christian replies, "This is that Spirit of Truth promised by Christ to guide the world into all truth."

An argument thus baldly and feebly set forth conveys necessarily none of that cumulative power of conviction which it acquires from the vast knowledge, the insight into the secret life of history, the psychological subtlety, and the burning eloquence of a profound personal conviction, which mark and give their peculiar character to the writings of Mr. Maurice. But our wish is to

give only an outline of the line of thought. The details could be filled in by no other hand than that of the master himself. But it will, we think, be seen even in our statement, that when "criticism" has done its best or its worst upon the books of the Bible, not a single position taken up by Mr. Maurice can be shaken or even slightly weakened. He moves along a line which lies altogether outside of such researches. He makes his reader apprehend Christ as the Light of the World, by revealing Him as the Light of his own heart. He converts the "Third Person of the Trinity" from a dogma, embedded fossil-like in books of controversial divinity, into a living Being whose path we can trace in a line of light across all the preceding centuries. And thus the doctrine of the Trinity becomes, literally, an unveiling of the nature of God.

And herein, we may add, is to be found the secret of that obscurity which is so often charged against Mr. Maurice. Every experience that comes to men in any way whatsoever, must be embodied in a proposition before it can be communicated to others. But so long as the experience itself is keen and living, the words which express it seem to partake of a portion of its life. Their simple sound by the power of association kindles in the mind of the hearer the exact image of the emotion described. This has long ceased to be the case in Theology. When Paul spoke of men as justified by faith, as sanctified by the power of the Holy Spirit, as reconciled to God by the death of His Son, he was not careful to define these terms. They were expressions of spiritual realities, of which both he and his hearers were vividly conscious at every moment of their lives. They knew themselves to be justified, *i.e.*, *made righteous* by their new-born trust in a righteous God; they knew that this new-born sense of the sinfulness of sin was occasioned by the purifying presence of a Holy Spirit within them. They no more wanted a definition of such phrases than a man would require definitions ere he understood that fire was hot and ice was cold. But in after years, the consciousness of these vital changes had passed away. The phraseology alone remained, and this was drawn out into long divinity propositions (*e.g.*, the Thirty-nine Articles), which appeared not to have the remotest connection with the daily life of men. It degenerated into a sort of official language destitute of any meaning, as when we sign ourselves "I have the honour to be," not meaning that we are in the enjoyment of any honour at all. But to Mr. Maurice the old Biblical language was still instinct with all its first truth and power. It was the truest expression of the mighty warfare of good and evil that was carried on within him. He strives, as it were, to re-stamp it with the old image and superscription. This language, he says, was not accidental, or lightly chosen. It came from the lips of men, who had the most

momentous message ever entrusted to mortal men, to communicate to their fellows. The facts of which they spake are still, and must be for ever, about our lives, and working in our hearts; and no language is so fitted to express them as that which they originally inspired. But the effect at first is startling and perplexing in the extreme. "Progress" is a familiar term enough, and startles no one; but when the general is turned into the particular, and the advance in science, in learning, and humanity, is declared to be "the power of the Spirit of Truth leading the world into truth," people start in bewilderment, and declare the speaker mystical and unintelligible. They not unfrequently denounce him as a wolf in sheep's clothing, who under the veil of liberality is seeking to bind them once more in the theological delusions they have cast aside. This very charge we have heard repeatedly urged against Mr. Maurice,—a writer who, more than any other we are acquainted with, worked out his conclusions by methods rigorously scientific.

But we must hasten on. It is not possible in our limited space to even touch upon the characteristics of Mr. Maurice as philosopher and moral teacher; but there is one doctrine connected with his name on which we would say a few words before concluding—his doctrine of universal redemption. We have already touched upon the moral difficulty involved in the ordinary view of the Atonement whether taught by High Churchmen or Low. No ingenious sophistry can do anything to get rid of it. It is this. We are asked to believe that a perfectly loving God could not refrain from destroying, body and soul, the creatures he had made, except by the death of His Son, who took upon Himself the wrath of God which ought by right to have descended upon us. This is the first difficulty, or rather the first three or four difficulties. For it is impossible to understand how a Being of infinite love could be filled with such an infinite wrath, and yet retain His love; and it is still harder to conceive that this wrath should be appeased by the death of some one who had not in any way offended Him. But this is not all. Christ, as we have already said, dies to appease the wrath of His Father, and yet that wrath continues to burn as fiercely as ever. There is, it is true, a city of refuge here and there, or what its denizens declare to be such,—but what are they among so many? Not to mention that the inhabitants of one city are by no means certain that any other is safe. What amid this tumult of voices is the refugee to do who has not yet found a place of shelter? These notions of redemption, according to Mr. Maurice, are precisely those of the heathen. This kind of Saviour is but a repetition of "some Prometheus who shall steal the fire that is to hinder human creatures from being utterly at the mercy of the Tyrant." "Such redemptions," he goes on to say, "every mythology is full of in proportion to the experiences

which there were of human misery in the land that produced it. There must be some friendly demon, some co-operator with the poor victims of mortal oppression or of Death, the common oppressor—one who shall at least alleviate the wretchedness of some district or family or time if he cannot remove it." It was to destroy these notions once for all, that the Word was made flesh—to reveal an Eternal Father, who hated nothing that He has made, in place of the Moloch whom men had imagined to be seated behind the clouds. To suppose that this Father would sit quietly by, while His children writhed in the everlasting anguish of sin was to deny His Fatherhood,—to declare that Christ had established the worship of that very Deity which He came to extirpate. Good or evil—one of these two Powers must be the stronger. The question might be an open one to those who had not received Christianity, but it never ought to be to those who had. For, "not a part of the message of the kingdom of Heaven, but every part of it, concerns the struggle of the Son of Man with the Accuser, the Tempter, the Destroyer; concerns the deliverance of men from the physical and moral slavery which he has brought into God's universe. Everywhere the Son of Man is defying his claim to rule; everywhere He is asserting the creation to be the Creator's."

There was a profound solemnity, a depth of reverence in the manner of Mr. Maurice, whenever in his sermons he approached this awful subject, and spoke of the unfathomable deep of the Divine Love. He affected none of the arts of the orator in his preaching; only his eye—so full of spiritual meaning—seemed, as it were, fixed and fascinated by some distant object, and the tone of his voice was as that of a man speaking in the very presence of God, and declaring the things that he saw. We remember, in particular, one discourse of his on the parable of the rich man and the poor. He spoke of the wonderful change which after death came over the mind of the rich man—in that he who had been utterly selfish on this earth, had been brought, by the discipline of punishment, to look beyond himself, to remember his brethren and to care for them. "He who began to cry earnestly that those whom he had left behind him might not come into that place of torment, might still have a gulf separating him from Abraham. But that gulf must have been beginning to close up; he was nearer in heart and mind to Abraham than he had ever been in the days when he was receiving his good things"—then in a voice faltering with intense earnestness, but the solemn music of which will never cease to vibrate in the memory, he added,—"It is not, my friends, by quenching this hope for any individual man, or for any fallen nation, that we shall make ourselves purer, or shall deepen the awe of our minds. We may believe,

we ought to believe, that punishment is inseparable from evil, that God will never withhold His punishment while evil lasts. Israel cannot be saved till it is saved from its distrust and hatred of God. When St. Paul says 'all Israel shall be saved,' he expresses his conviction that it will one day be brought to own that the perfect friend of man is the true image of God. The assurance that its disobedience will be at last overcome, cannot make it safe for the Christian Church to imitate the sin of Israel, and so to come into its torments. The trust that no sin, no selfishness, shall at last be found stronger than the divine love, cannot lead any man to cultivate that which is to be vanquished, or defy that which must prevail. Despair is the Devil's instrument, not God's; He is the God of Hope."*

The great teacher and prophet has now gone to his rest—"His earthly mission richly wrought—leaving great legacies of thought." But looking back across those years of unwearying Christian labour, it awakens strange thoughts to remember that this man—one of the purest and most exalted souls that ever walked God's earth—whose frail tenement of clay was literally consumed by his inextinguishable zeal for God's House and God's Honour—whose every hope for himself and all mankind was bound up in the faith once delivered to the saints—who brought home the knowledge and the love of Christ to so many bewildered creatures gone astray in the valley of the shadow of death—was branded all through life with every opprobrious epithet which the rancour of orthodoxy could invent—was stigmatised as an infidel, a blasphemer, a Socinian, a materialist, and—even an atheist. It is, however, pleasanter to remember that when the good fight had been fought to the end, and Christ's faithful soldier and servant had assumed the crown of righteousness laid up for him, the tumult of detraction was hushed in silence over his grave. All alike seemed to have felt that a great and good man had passed away, leaving the world far poorer. His last moments are very beautiful to remember. "On that early Easter morning" (we are quoting Dean Stanley's sermon), "when the end drew near"

* There are a number of texts which are generally supposed to establish the opposite doctrine beyond reach of cavil. The student of Mr. Maurice's writings will find that he evades none of these; and we have no hesitation in saying that the interpretation he attaches to them must force itself on the mind of any unprejudiced inquirer as the only possible one—as one moreover which imparts to them a depth and spirituality which are wholly wanting to the meaning they are generally supposed to convey. His writings incidentally touch upon this belief again and again, as he comes across some text which has been supposed to enforce the reverse; but the formal discussion of the whole question will be found in the *Theological Essays*, and his *Letter to the Bishop of London*. There is a good deal on the same subject in the *Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven* (Preface and Lecture XX), and the *Unity of the New Testament*.

out of the extremity of bodily weakness, out of the darkness of death, he gathered himself up, and pronounced calmly, distinctly, and with the slight variation which was necessary to include himself as well as others within its range, the solemn benediction with which the Church of England at the close of its most solemn services gives its peace, not as the world giveth—the benediction which had been endeared to him through the long years of his faithful ministrations, every word of which was to him instinct with a peculiar life of its own, a peculiar reflex of his own profoundest feelings, "The peace of God which passeth all understanding keep our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst us, and remain with us always."

R. D. O.

ART. VIII.—THE INDIAN RINDERPEST.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the origin, nature, &c., of Indian Cattle Plagues—with Appendices. 1871.

ON what principle do general readers in India, who interest themselves in public affairs, assess the relative value of the various subjects which are from time to time brought under their notice? Do they enjoy a great, impalpable, and unerring instinct in the matter—analogous to that by which the conductors of the *Times* suit themselves to the ebb and flow of public opinion at home?—or is it a deep critical sense, which guides both to what is of importance, and from what is of none? Or is it simple chance?—or mere personal fancy? We cannot tell; we can only say, that very frequently it is now as in ancient times—'the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong;' solid labour for the general and present good is often disregarded, and its record is unread, while every journalist vies with his brethren in reproducing and criticising any pleasing translation of ancient Hindú fable.

These remarks have been naturally suggested to us by observing the almost total neglect which the learned and copious labours of the Cattle Plague Commission have met with at the hands of the Indian Press. We are well aware that a notice of the "Report" as published, has been given by most of the Indian journals; but these, as a rule, have gone no deeper into the matter than an entry in a catalogue might be expected to go, and prove only one thing with perfect clearness, that those who wrote the notices—one and all—knew little or nothing of the subject of cattle plague when they took up the report, and failed from such perusal as they gave that report, to cull from it any fact which could be of service in instructing the general public. Some even have contented themselves with describing mainly the outside of the book, making silly little jokes based on its weight and size.

And yet we feel certain that no argument is necessary in support of our position that the subject of cattle plague in this country is one of vast importance, and that the record made by the Cattle Plague Commission deserves an attentive and exhaustive study. England is more a commercial than an agricultural country, yet we all know how energetic was the action both of the legislature and of the executive when its herds were touched by the rinderpest. We also know that eventually the rinderpest disappeared as the consequence of this energetic action. India, on the other hand, or at least Lower Bengal, is

almost exclusively an agricultural conntry, where horned cattle are used in nearly all the operations of the farm. Much money we are spending in hopes of being able to avert from the cultivators the hardships caused by droughts or inundations; but an earlier and more pressing necessity seems to be the devising of some means by which to prevent the destruction of cattle by murrain. For dearth of water seed may never grow, but in the dearth of cattle it will not be sown. It is strange, therefore, to find a generation which has so wakened up to the necessity of irrigation, standing actually still in the presence of rinderpest, with no practical device to check it, and no great or real interest in the whole question. More surprising still do this want of interest and this want of resource appear, when we find that for thirty years past the subject has been periodically reported on, and the labours of the recent Commission have both summarised the results of all previous labours in the same field of research, and have demonstrated with great clearness and originality both the nature of the disease with which we have to deal, and the means by which we can most effectually combat it.

Turning for a moment to the earlier enquiries made into the nature of this dread murrain of beasts, we find that in the year 1844, Dr. Duncan Stewart, then Superintendent-General of Vaccination at this Presidency, was the first—as far as our knowledge enables us to speak—to bring into prominent notice the fact that there prevails in India an infectious disease among cattle by which immense numbers perish in the course of every year.

For fifteen long years did Dr. Stewart search after that disease of the cow from which Jenner first obtained the material with which he initiated the practice of vaccination. His object was to be able to renew at will from the cow of this country an active supply of vaccine, which in his day it was difficult to obtain in a fresh state from England. In this endeavour, however, he failed. But in the course of his enquiries, he was brought into frequent contact with a disease in the cow, attended sometimes with an eruption, and hence called by the natives " matta."

By experiment he soon satisfied himself that this was not the equivalent in the cow of " matta " (small-pox) in man; but still prosecuted his enquiries far and wide, led on in this further investigation by the v ast importance which the subject assumed, as bearing on the dire scourge of cattle disease. In the year 1844 he embodied the result of his researches in a " Report on Small-pox in Calcutta and Vaccination in Lower Bengal. " The Government was thus placed in possession of the important fact that a contagious disease annually caused an enormous mortality among the cattle of this country—a country in which draught and milch cattle form the main support of nine-tenths of the community.

This being so, it is a matter of regret to note how little importance the Governmen tof the day attached to the interesting report furnished by Dr. Stewart. For twenty long years no action whatever appears to have been taken regarding the cattle disease; but in 1854 the matter was again brought prominently before Government, by the Secretary to the Agricultural Society, Mr. A. H. Blechynden, by Mr. John Stalkartt, whose interest in all agricultural matters is well known, and by Mr. R. Rutherford, V.S. The outbreak of a fatal epizootic which attacked the cattle which were brought together for the Agricultural Exhibition held in January 1864 at Alipore, was the immediate occasion of the matter being brought forward; and it may be remarked that the matter could hardly have been brought more closely home to Government, as the affected cattle died in an enclosure, which, at the time, might have been termed without exaggeration the Government Home Park. Dr. C. Palmer was asked to report on this subject, and in 1865 he stated his belief that the epizootic was genuine rinderpest. Here the matter might have rested for another twenty years, but for the accidents of English herds being ravaged by the same disease immediately after,—public attention being therefore forcibly directed towards the solution of the problem, whether it was the duty of a Government to allow cattle to die by the thousand when it was within their power to apply measures which would serve materially to diminish the mortality and heavy pecuniary loss attending that mortality. England's loss has been India's gain on this as on many other occasions. Much information on the subject was, under the orders of Government, collected by district officers, and by Commissioners of Division. When it was as complete as the circumstances of the case admitted, the papers were transferred for analysis and report to the Civil Surgeon of Jessor. Dr. McLeod's Report on the Cattle Disease of Lower Bengal marks an era in the history of rinderpest. It was published in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 11th March, 1868, and extends over fifty pages. It was a marvel of completeness at the time at which it was written; and considering that the author, at the time at which he undertook its compilation, probably knew as little about the diseases of cattle as he did about necromancy, the wonder is he made so few mistakes as he did. There are, however, speculations in it more ingenious than sound; and if the author ever has a leisure hour in which to look back on the views he then published, we feel sure that he will agree with us in holding that many of these views must be abandoned when exposed to the light which more recent researches have thrown on the subject. After the publication of this report many outbreaks of cattle plague were brought to notice in different quarters; and on the 29th of November, 1859, the Governor-General in

Council appointed a Commission to enquire into the whole subject of the diseases which prevail, and the best method of dealing with them. The title of the report published by this Commission we have placed at the head of our article, inasmuch as it combines the information conveyed by earlier reports with much that is new and valuable of its own. Before proceeding to indicate the scope of this report, it may perhaps be right to mention here that the above sketch only attempts to show in outline how the matter of destructive murrains among cattle has been pressed on the attention of Government. The Cattle Plague Commissioners have brought out very distinctly that before Dr. Stewart's report was published, various officials and others not connected with the service of Government knew of the existence of diseases destructive to cattle. The natives of the country apply to the most common of these diseases the same names that they make use of when speaking of small-pox in man, although the two diseases have little or nothing of an essential nature in common.

A considerable amount of information on the subject seems to have been obtained in reply to a circular issued by the Medical Board on the 4th of June 1831. This circular had for its object the instigation to a search after the variola vaccinæ of Jenner in a systematic manner. It brought to light only the disease regarded by the natives as small-pox in the cow; which even at this early date was almost conclusively recognised as something of a very different nature from the vaccine disease. A curious circumstance was reported in 1832 which tended in no small measure to complicate matters and retard a satisfactory conclusion being arrived at. The Civil Surgeon of Murshidábád in that year succeeded in obtaining successful results in vaccinating a child, as he believed, from a cow with *basanto* or small-pox. What actually happened no one will ever know; but this much at least is certain, that basanto in the cow did not cause vaccine in the child. Whether the Civil Surgeon was fortunate enough to discover the true variola vaccinæ, which he mistook for basanto, or whether he was the dupe of the trickery of some vaccinator, will for ever remain unknown. One suspicious element in the case is the fact that the cow concerned belonged to the vaccinator, while next year with cows which had basanto, but were not the property of the vaccinators, all the experiments failed. The success in 1831 in Murshidábád led to similar experiments elsewhere in 1833; when a Civil Surgeon inoculated four children unsuccessfully, and during his absence from the station another surgeon carried on the enquiry. Four children whom the latter believed to have been vaccinated direct from the cow, were secured. From these four children, other native children were operated on. In all of

these success was obtained; and then three children of Europeans were operated on as well as some native children. All the three had an attack of small-pox in a bad form, and one of them died. Here too we are kept in doubt what was the true solution of what was recorded. A vaccinator having surreptitiously inoculated the four children, on whom the lymph had effect with true small-pox, after they had been operated on with the virus of cattle plague, would offer a ready explanation, but all evidence is denied us on this point. The calamitous results of this experiment produced a profound impression on medical men in India, and put a complete stop to further inoculations being practised. In 1836, Dr. Lamb, the Civil Surgeon, sent a very important communication to the Superintending Surgeon describing cattle plague as he saw it in Dacca, where the year before about a thousand deaths had been caused by it. The Medical Board seems to have failed in appreciating the true value of all these reports bringing to light the existence of rinderpest, but were satisfied that they could not obtain their supply of vaccine from the cow in India. It is on this account that we have given such a prominent place to Dr. Duncan Stewart's memoir on the subject, as he so prominently brought the matter to the notice of Government as worthy on its own account to deserve their attention, apart from all considerations regarding the source from which a supply of vaccine might be obtained.

In the same year that Dr. Lamb wrote, Mr. H. Piddington, the author of the *Law of Storms*, published his observations on rinderpest in the Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. His own cattle had been attacked on several occasions during the short period of seven or eight years, and he stated his confidence in the efficacy of fumigation with muriatic acid.

To complete the above cursory sketch of the glimpses at cattle plague obtainable before the Report of the Commissioners was written, we may here adduce also from their Report that they obtained the evidence of the Múnsif of Dibrugarh, to the effect that he remembered having heard his father mention that cattle plague occurred in 1797 in the district of Síbságar. They also ascertained the fact from the oral testimony of many that cattle plague prevailed in Assam before the British occupation (1824). They also quote from Mr. Farrell's report that he had met with an old Gossain who read from a book in the Assamese character, that in 1818 this disease attacked the cattle of the Burmese army of invasion, and spread from it to the cattle of the country, committing great havoc. Dr. Duncan Stewart's information from Mr. Blacquiere is also referred to, that about the year 1795-96, a murrain prevailed among the cattle in and near Calcutta.

The volume opens with a general report by the Commissioners,

extending over thirty pages. This portion of their work has been done with great care, and is of extreme value, as it embodies within readable limits the results of the entire enquiry. In it, after some introductory paragraphs explanatory of the objects the Commission had in view, the mode of enquiry they adopted, the arrangement they intended to follow in the report, and other kindred topics, they boldly take up in a separate section the conditions affecting the prevalence of murrains. On this subject they state that there is no evidence to show that cattle disease may not make its appearance at any place, whatever its geology, soil, altitude, or other physical condition. They do not believe that the disease is born of the soil, they look on it as being epizootic and not enzootic; and hold that there is nothing in the geology or topography or atmospheric influences of India to render these diseases inevitable or ineradicable. As a consequence of these beliefs, the Commissioners hold that there is good hope of being able by repressive measures to limit and restrain the devastations of the Indian rinderpest. In support of their view they instance the effect of isolated positions in preventing the influx of the disease. They tell us, for example, it is never of spontaneous origin in islands; all cases of murrain occurring in an island being clearly traceable to importation. The physical obstacles afforded by hills to the cattle being associated together also is made to give valuable evidence in the same direction; as when rinderpest does break out in any hilly tract, there is never any suspicion of its spontaneous origin; its importation can always be traced. The action of large rivers in presenting barriers to the spread of the disease, and the importance of guarding ferries, are also brought prominently forward.

The conditions favourable to the spread of this plague among cattle are briefly alluded to. The influence of roads in furnishing a conduit by which the disease may flow; an increasing civilisation by clearing jungle, extending agriculture, opening out communications, and promoting the buying and selling of stock, are all enumerated as requiring counter measures to check the murrain from spreading over the country.

The Commissioners do not face the difficult task of pointing out what is to be done to prevent and limit the propagation of cattle plague from those nurseries of contagious diseases which luxuriant pasture lands furnish. Stock from all sides are here drawn together towards a centre, where they can freely congregate, and give and take every communicable disease without restraint, carrying contagion back with them to their respective villages. They believe that this problem "must be worked out locally, as while the general practice and its tendencies and dangers are similar, there are local circumstances and variations which must govern the thought and action to be taken."

Even under apparently more favourable circumstances, facilities for the ready spread of cattle disease are not wanting; as when an estimate of stock to area would show a low figure, and an apparently unfavourable condition for the spread of disease, the universal practice of herding and of crowding cattle densely together, enables any contagion which may once be brought among them to be freely disseminated.

The complete absence of any system of fencing in India constitutes a fertile source of mischief, as it permits the affected cattle of one owner to convey the disease to the stock of his neighbours. Many conditions favourable to the spread of rinderpest in India are brought to notice, but the reporters hesitate to suggest measures to meet the difficulty; as these facilities, they say, must be studied locally in elaborate detail, before the question of local remedial measures can be decided on.

There seems to be reason for believing that the hide trade may assist in spreading contagion by diseased hides in transit. Soaking the hides in salt, or lime and water, renders them innocuous, and this is a plan which should be adopted whenever it can be put into force at the place where an animal dies.

In Section 3, the diseases of stock are treated of. We find that—

1st. Rinderpest,
2nd. Foot and mouth disease,
3rd. Hoven,
4th. Quarter-ill,
5th. Pleuro-pneumonia,
6th. Bhooknee or purging,
7th. Cystic disease,
8th. Throat swelling, are the diseases which may be looked on as the most important. Conditions of the foot and mouth leading to ulcers in both situations, which prevent the animals from moving about easily or eating, characterise the disease placed second on the list. This affection passes readily from animal to animal, but one attack does not secure immunity from a second. The disease is seldom fatal unless neglected; and cleanliness, disinfection, and simple precautions are all that are necessary in dealing with it.

Hoven consists of over-distention of the rumen (first stomach); and is usually caused by a surfeit on the young vegetation which the first shower after drought brings up. As it affects many cattle simultaneously, it may almost appear to be epizootic. In the absence of skilled agents to perform the simple operation of tapping the rumen, the disease is thought to be incurable.

We are not told what quarter-ill is; but its being a widespread disease which destroys cattle largely, is made use of as an argument

to urge "the spread of sound views regarding the sanitary and medical treatment of stock throughout rural India."

Pleuro-pneumonia (inflammation of the lungs and their surrounding membranes), though existing in India and at times prevailing extensively in the Panjáb, does not destroy so many cattle as rinderpest or bhooknee. Isolated cases of the disease are often met with; and even when it attacks considerable numbers at one time, its contagiousness in India is not so well established as it is in other countries.

The disease termed by the natives *bhukni* consists of a form of diarrhœa, with great emaciation. It seems to confine itself to the districts of Gujranwala and Jhang; and to be caused by the use of improper food and water.

Cystic disease consists in the flesh of the animal being infested by bladders which are the larval stage of tape worms. The common tape worm which inhabits man in India is the *toenia mediocanellata.* The extreme prevalence of this parasite among Europeans in the Panjáb is caused by the consumption of beef containing the cyst, which grows into the worm. The Commission, while bringing together various papers on this subject, do not seem to have added much to our previous information.

Throat swelling seems to be regarded by the reporters as a symptom only of other diseases, and not as a separate ailment. As they had not seen any instance of it, their surmise is necessarily vague and indecisive.

After brief observations on the foregoing diseases, the subject of rinderpest is treated of separately in the fourth section of the report.

Though Gilchrist in 1848, C. Palmer in 1864, and all subsequent observers had identified the great Indian scourge of cattle with the rinderpest of Europe, it is satisfactory to find that the Commission, agreeing with these authorities, declare that the steppe murrain of Russia and the *basanto* which carries off annually so many thousand head of cattle in India, are one and the same disease. On this point there cannot be any longer any reasonable doubt; and we glance with disfavour over an ambiguous paragraph headed "the only certain test of identity." Here the inoculation of cattle in England from material derived from Indian cattle plague, is spoken of as a crucial test. It is true that the reporters do not advise such a test to be employed, and only bring it forward almost apologetically as "incumbent on those who do not accept our conclusions * * * * to adopt as the only means by which any doubt may be for ever removed." In spite of the Commissioners' attempts to guard themselves from being misunderstood, we confess to disappointment at the smack of uncertainty suggested by the use of the words "only certain," "cru-

cial test," an uncertainty moreover which did not exist in the minds of the writers, and which we trust no one will ever attempt to set at rest by inoculating the cattle of England with virus drawn from diseased Indian animals. The work of the Commissioners has been well done; proofs abound everywhere, which are as crucial and as certain as any inoculation practised in England could possibly be; and we object to their giving any grounds for drawing the unfair deduction that till such a *crucial test* is applied, some measure of doubt must still remain. We do not wish to deny that it might satisfy the self-assertion of some veterinary practitioner in England, to be able to go over the same ground as that already traversed in India, by obtaining the cattle plague poison from India, and after producing the disease, satisfying himself of its identity with rinderpest. Nor do we wish to deny that such a person might be found roundly affirming that nothing but the evidence afforded by the use of his own eyes would satisfy him; but what we do deny is that the test applied by such a person would be a whit more crucial or more certain than the tests which have been applied in India.

We consider the question of the identity of English and Indian rinderpest as finally settled, and wish that the Commissioners had refrained from casting doubt on their own conclusions, even in the guarded language used by them on the occasion.

What is this disease then of which cattle die in such numbers? The answer to this question has to be searched for over many pages scattered over numerous portions of the report. It seems to be a low fever, complicated with a particular form of dysentery.

We are told that an animal may be labouring under the disease for several days (4—10) before it shows any symptoms of being ill. This the Commissioners call the stage of incubation; and during it, the heat of the body rapidly increases, as may be ascertained by the aid of a thermometer. The next or premonitory stage may last from two to four days, and is characterized by the affected animal showing great languor. It is seen separating itself from other cattle, drooping its head and omitting to chew the cud. Its coat stares, and the mucous membranes which can be seen are found to be congested. The third stage extends over two to five days; and is marked by high fever, a greenish diarrhœa, small blisters in the mouth, and at times an eruption on the skin.

During the fourth stage, the animal appears quite prostrated and becomes cold: blood and slime are passed from the bowels with straining. The blisters in the mouth now contain matter, and many of them bursting cause sores on the gums, tongue, and other parts of the mouth. "The symptoms increase to the eighth or ninth day, when the crisis is observed." The anima

now dies; or if it recovers, the heat gradually returns to the body, it begins to eat, improvement taking place slowly, till in from fifteen to twenty days the animal is well.

Post mortem examinations were frequently performed under the superintendence of Mr. Hallen, V.S., the able President of the Commission; and the disease is found in nearly all cases to have left its marks almost exclusively on the mucous membranes throughout the whole of the animal's body. But while the first two stomachs were little affected, the last two were almost invariably the seat of well-marked morbific changes. The folds of the third stomach were often found perforated by ulcers; while congestions, extravasations of blood, and ulcers were found so uniformly in the fourth stomach as to lead to the belief that this was the chief seat of the disease.

The reporters know of no specific treatment. They recommend saline laxatives, followed by astringents and stimulants; rice or pease gruel as food, and a sparing allowance of water. Under this treatment they believe that 20 per cent. of cattle that would otherwise die may be saved.

Having thus endeavoured to give our readers a general but accurate idea of what Indian cattle plague really is, and mentioned the curative treatment on which the Commission chiefly relies, we must now glance at the subject of prevention, which is acknowleded to be of vastly greater importance than cure. It is treated of at great length in many parts of the report. In particular Dr. Kenneth McLeod's valuable paper is reprinted *in extenso.* General principles are everywhere laid down, and precautions pointed out; while the questions of applying measures to the case of particular localities is properly left undefined, with the view of special enquiry into local circumstances, local customs, and local arrangements being made before any steps are taken to enforce the necessary preventive measures. That the disease is contagious, and may be imported from an infected locality, admits of no doubt. All the natives seem clearly to recognise this fact: and the report furnishes numerous illustrations of its truth. Examples of what the natives of the country had already done to save themselves from the loss of cattle by removing them when sources of contamination were near, are also brought forward. Such cases seem to be rare exceptions, as the natives of the country seldom act on the knowledge of this subject which they possess. When acting under professional advice, on many occasions village cattle have been isolated by their owners with the most successful results. It seems reasonable to hope that, as such examples of immunity from the disease by isolation become better known throughout the country at large, the question of legislation on the subject of cattle plague may at last

be solved; for when a very general belief exists in the advantages to be gained by following simple rules, the intelligent minority will, it is hoped, gladly avail themselves of the benefits which they know to be within their grasp, and an ignorant or fatalistic majority will gradually be educated by the greater enlightenment of the intelligent few. The people of this country are as gregarious as their herds; and if the headman of a village be gained over to the side of prudent treatment,—whether for the prevention or the cure of cattle disease,—the whole village community will follow in his steps. That there is abundance of intelligence among the headmen of our villages we have good reason to know; and if the enforcement of any legislative provisions be preceded by gaining these men to our side, we say, with confidence, that the victory is gained, and cattle plague may be rooted out of this country in the same degree, if not in the same manner, as it was rooted out at home.

The remarks of the Member of the Civil Service who served on the Commission are very apposite. He says—"I desire to place on record my conviction that any legislation having for its object the repression and prevention of cattle murrain, should be introduced with great caution; and I believe it to be doubtful whether much good would result from a very strict law on the subject, until the people have been trained to see the necessity for it. The civil authorities with whom as a member of the Commission I had occasion to converse, as well as many native gentlemen, declared themselves opposed to all complicated legislation with reference to cattle murrains, partly on the ground that it would be resented by the people, and partly because, from want of adequate supervision, it would be inoperative in the present condition of the country."

An immense amount of valuable information on this subject has been collected in Appendix No. V., which extends over some seventy pages of the report, and is entitled, "Papers regarding the Sanitary Treatment of Epizootics, and special legislation." The measures which have to be enforced when a murrain becomes general, must necessarily prove very irksome to all the inhabitants of any infected district who possess cattle.

Any system of arrangements which has for its aim the stamping out of cattle plague when once it has made head over a considerable tract of country, entails an extravagant outlay of money. Again, when a murrain has once been allowed to spread, the mere force of numbers comes to present an almost insuperable difficulty; and the best measures begin to prove inoperative simply from the impossibility of finding an adequate numbers of agents to enforce their requirements. It is to care and attention when the plague begins on which reliance must chiefly be placed; and the Commissioners have done well in bringing forward, as the first

requirement of any law, "the duty of giving early notice." They also enumerate a great variety of agencies through whom this early information may be obtained—as village headmen, special agency, pound-keepers, the police, panchâyats, zamíndárs, &c. &c. No single definite proposition is made, because the committee leave the special arrangements of each locality to be decided by local peculiarities. But to us it appears that on this point at least one universal rule might be laid down, and the owner of the diseased animal made the person primarily responsible for notifying to the executive the appearance of disease among his cattle. The owner is always present, and always must obtain the earliest notice of disease among his own kine; and if there were no other reasons for making him responsible for prompt report to the authorities, we think these two are sufficient. It may come to be a question to whom the owner is to report, and after the report is made through how many agents it must pass before it arrives at the Magistrate; but it should never for one moment be attempted to take the responsibility of setting the requisite machinery in motion off the owner, and fix it on any other person. In proportion as this first principle is stringently enforced or relaxed, will success or failure in dealing with the matter depend. The duty of giving early notice is a cardinal requirement. Limit the mischief to the first few cases which appear, and the epizootic ceases. If once this single fact is recognised, and a place of importance is accorded to it such as its intrinsic value demands, an immense step is made towards simplifying not only the legislative requirements, but all the machinery which becomes necessary for successfully carrying out the law.

Make it stringently imperative on the owners of sick cows to make it known that his stock is dying; let any breach of duty on this point be visited with heavy penalties, regarding the severity of which there can be no question; for the rest, let the law be as lenient as the circumstances of the case permit, but on this point no sentiment of false humanity or misplaced sympathy with an uneducated agricultural population must be permitted to stand in the way of the law being made stringent in the highest degree. The owner of a plague-stricken ox may become the means of death to thousands of cattle belonging to his neighbours. Let him know that by not giving notice, public danger is incurred; and having once told him of the direct consequences of inaction on his part in neglecting to give notice, show him no mercy if he neglect to give the proper information to the proper authorities—treat him as a malefactor—visit him with the same penalties as we already visit those who by poison or maiming cause destruction to the cattle of the country. Mercy to one individual in such a case means cruelty to the rest of the population of his district;

widespread far-searching cruelty such as it would be difficult to enhance, either in kind or in degree.

The next requirement which must be provided for, is stated to be prompt segregation. Here the reporters very properly place the responsibility on the owners. How the sick are to be isolated and the healthy to be segregated is, they say, a problem not easy to solve. They incline to the belief that special "village arrangements," as distinct from private arrangements by the owners, are preferable. In this we think they are in error. If we are shut up to one or other alternative, we would have little hesitation in adopting the one of the sick cattle isolated on the premises of their owners. But we think that we are not shut up to the necessity of limiting ourselves to the one or other branch of the alternative suggested by the report. There seems to be no sufficient reason why the law should not recognise both alternatives, and also include half-a-dozen other plans as well. It is to a hard and fast line that we object; we do not know enough of the people to be able to draw such a line with safety. Perhaps we ought rather to say that on the contrary we know so much, as to be certain that the feelings not only of people in different districts, but of individuals in the same village, vary so considerably that any single arrangement we could make, would prove intolerable to large numbers of them. We believe also that with a variety of suitable plans at command, we could accomplish as much as could be accomplished by one or two stringent expedients; while the measures enforced by a flexible and many-sided law would be resented by very few indeed of those affected by it. The local prejudices must be carefully studied, and the views of the people fully understood, before any of the alternatives sanctioned by law could be selected as the most fitted for any special occasion or particular locality. The people, moreover, must be educated to see that the measure is entirely for their good; and then as a rule not only may we expect to see opposition become less and less, but we may also in due course of time, look for the hearty co-operation of the people in our endeavours to do them good. It need not take long to make at least a beginning of this education. Those who can read may be taught by means of notices or pamphlets, while there is no murrain impending. When the plague has broken out, an intelligent agent will often find little difficulty in explaining to the people what is necessary in the emergency, and in overcoming ignorant opposition. That this cannot always be done, and that on occasion we must be prepared to deal with opposition, need not scare us from making an attempt to legislate. A permissive law need not be put in force when the executive considers that it would prove oppressive, because it would raise the angry feelings of large numbers in some

special community and bring them into open collision with the authorities; and in many cases the mere knowledge of the fact that the law could be applied would make right-thinking people readily acquiesce in any arrangements that might be thought necessary for their good.. That the people of India as a rule would respect any law, which they recognised as being for their good, and which was applied with reasonable regard to their own wishes, admits of no doubt.

All that the law can reasonably require of either the individual or the community after disease has been reported, is that diseased animals shall be so dealt with that the contagion shall not be allowed to be conveyed to others. Doubtless many owners will prefer to keep charge of their own sick stock; and so long as they are willing and able to adopt precautions which satisfy the requirements of a skilled local agent, the less interference on our part with the carrying out of details the better. Some persons will be found so circumstanced that they are unable to comply with very necessary orders on the subject of isolation, while others would gladly make over their sick cattle to the care of some public establishment. We think it is a great mistake to suppose that the class who from defective room or poverty cannot easily keep their sick cattle separate from their healthy ones, are a numerous body. The expense of running up a bamboo shed for the accommodation of a single cow is simply nothing. In a bamboo country, if the owner of a cow is too poor to purchase the few materials necessary, in nine cases out of ten he can very easily beg or borrow them. The other section of the community who would avail themselves of any well managed public provision for looking after diseased cattle, would doubtless in many districts prove to be a large body. All depends, however, on the management of such an institution; and we do not think that the difficulties in organizing such establishments have been sufficiently appreciated by the reporters. Should the menial in charge of the cattle make the most of his opportunities, and instead of feeding the cattle misappropriate the funds entrusted to him for their welfare, cattle-owners would not be slow in resenting the oppression implied in removing their cattle from their own charge, and placing them in the keeping of a dishonest custodian. To secure attention for stock either sent willingly, or forcibly taken to these pounds, would require the most careful local arrangements; and considering the chances of mismanagement, great caution would be required in making use of compulsory measures which the law might authorise.

It is by no means unlikely that in some places it would be found impolitic to attempt to force the people either to care for their diseased and contagious cattle, or to allow others to attend to the necessary restrictions for them. In such a case,

while for the time ceasing to impose restrictions on the action of individuals, the executive might be empowered to deal with any obstinate community as a dangerous class, and place the village or circle of villages in quarantine; so as to prevent, while the plague prevailed, all communication with the outside world likely to allow of contagion being spread beyond the affected locality. A special cordon of police would be necessary to enforce such quarantine; the cost would properly be borne by the locality whose obstinacy required such a special provision. Having recourse to such means of repression must always be decided on with hesitation. It is punitive in its very essence; and, unlike segregation in the houses of owners, or in special establishments, can never be acceptable under any circumstances to those on whom the restriction is imposed.

Were it probable that enforcing such a quarantine would be often necessary, we would have to abandon all thoughts of limiting cattle murrains by legislation. It is only the certainty that such stringent measures will be seldom required, which encourages the hope that much may be effected by cautious and judicious laws on the subject. It is possible, with the assistance of a law, to persuade the great majority of men that to take certain precautions when their cattle are sick is a gain; and we may undoubtedly expect their co-operation in giving early notice when their herds begin to sicken and die. It must be the prime object of every law to secure the willing acquiescence of the people, or else the very first requirement to ensure success will never be obtainable. There are those who recognise in the pole-axe a simple and effective means of disposing of the cattle plague, and who advocate that even in India this remedy should be freely applied. In any single village the advocates of this treatment might support their statements by stamping out the outbreak; but to make the attempt would be fatal to success on any large scale. At once the people would place themselves against us, and incur any penalty rather than be accessaries to the crime of slaughtering their cattle; all notices of stock having become infected would be withheld, and even if the plains of India ran red with the blood of oxen, no success would be gained in lessening the mortality and saving valuable national property.

To allow of assistance being given to the people when they are in danger of losing their herds, the creation of a body of skilled agents constitutes a necessary portion of the scheme as sketched in the report. The employment of such agents can hardly now be termed an experiment, as in various portions of the report it is mentioned that salutries (native farriers) have been satisactorily made use of in connection with cattle plague.

It is proposed to have a training school for this class, and to have them educated in the elements of veterinary medicine. When not employed in work rendered necessary by cattle plague, they would prove useful to the people in treating other diseases of cattle; and by being appointed to districts would be on the spot when outbreaks occurred and be ready to direct sanitary precautions during early periods of the visitations, when promptness means success, delay failure. The information regarding all matters connected with cattle which such agents could procure for a central college would, when extending over a series of years, prove most valuable.

In our remarks on the "General Report" we have taken occasion to indent freely on some of the appendices; and we have little to say regarding them, except that they contain funds of information stored in a form accessible to all. The sound sense which pervades the whole report is also shown in the careful arrangement of the appendices, in which facts and opinions find their own appropriate place, and with the aid of a full and carefully compiled index can be readily got at, without the painful search so often necessary under similar circumstances. Thus general information, reports, and evidence, are systematically arranged in Appendix II. Selected statistical statements in Appendix III. The subject of cattle poisoning has an appendix to itself; and the subject is of such great importance, and the materials so fully and carefully investigated, that they deserve to have a review to themselves.

Appendix V. is devoted exclusively to papers on the sanitary treatment of epizootics. The experiments carried out by the Commission, and the cases treated by them, are detailed in Appendix VI.; while Appendix VII. contains full accounts of the *post mortem* examinations conducted during their enquiry. Appendix VIII. consists of a glossary which materially aids the easy reading of parts of the report which would without it lose much of their value. These appendices are long, very long, but not too long; and owing to the forethought displayed in their arrangement, searchers after information need only turn over the pages devoted to the subject on which they require enlightenment.

The report is rich in information on many other points besides those which we have brought forward. For instance, the improvement of the breed of cattle is taken up; and the authors declare strongly in favour of indigenous and against the introduction of any foreign breed. The recent rise in the price of stock is discussed, and traced to other causes than cattle plague. The system of feeding and watering cattle has been investigated, and abundant room for improvement pointed out. Glimpses

are also obtained at matters of high interest to the political economist, by which cattle are directly affected, and which deserve the careful attention of all well-wishers of India. In the ancient law books, provision is made to preserve pasture lands between the village and fields. Vrihaspati and Manu lay down, we are told, precise rules to prevent such grazing grounds from being subdivided; and render it imperative on all true believers to preserve them intact. Many causes have led to these village commons having been brought under the plough. The decennial settlement included these within the assessed areas. The greater demands for oil seeds, and agricultural produce generally, has led to the extension of cultivation in recent years; and the zamíndárs have seized their opportunities for breaking up these pasture lands. And each bighá of ground which as pasturage brought them in eight annas brings in, if reclaimed, the full rent of cultivated land. The minute division and subdivision of cultivated lands, have at length reduced small holdings to a limit at which the existence of grazing ground is sometimes an impossibility. The cattle of the ráyats have throughout suffered by these transactions; and as commons now in many places no longer exist to which they can be driven for their food, they are now forced to pick up a precarious existence in cultivated fields after the crops are removed, or on fallow land, or among the sedgy grass of marshy land, and along the embankments of roads and the raised divisions which mark off field from field. The gradual disappearance of the village common-lands has long been known to district officers in Lower Bengal; and many of them have looked forward to the time when it will be necessary to re-enact the old laws of Manu for their preservation. We are glad that the subject has been again brought to notice by the Commissioners, and trust that when Government takes legislative action on the report it will not forget the necessity of securing for the village cattle their ancient right of common.

The whole Report is one which reflects great credit on all concerned in its production, and the Government possesses in it funds of exact information on which safe action may be taken.

Except inasmuch as it may conduce to the matter being at last taken up in earnest, it can not be hoped that the mere printing of the report will have the effect of saving the lives of cattle; and considering the masterly way that the investigation has been conducted, it is not too much to hope that it will lead to something being done. As the reporters themselves point out, it has only cleared the way for further systematic investigations, on a more extended scale and carried out on a well considered plan. The Commission ceased to exist as soon as the functions allotted to it were over, and no arrangements have been made for carrying out

the work which the report pointed out was yet to be done. We trust the Government will be alive to the magnitude of the interests involved, and that we may soon find a single Cattle Plague Commissioner appointed to carry on the enquiry so successfully begun.

The appointments of the head of the Veterinary School, which is one of the projects brought forward, and such a Commissioner to give advice and assistance in dealing with cattle plague, could be well combined in one person; and who is so well able to hold it as the talented President of the Cattle Plague Commission?

The experience which he has accumulated in various parts of India, while conducting a very difficult enquiry, together with the success he achieved in Europe as the head of a large veterinary college, serve to combine in him many of the most important qualifications to such a union of offices; and in bringing Mr. Hallen's name prominently forward, we bring the task we set before ourselves to a conclusion.

Art. IX.—TOPICS OF THE QUARTER.

The Native Civil Service in Bengal.

THE most important feature in the educational proceedings of the Government of Bengal during the past quarter, has been the publication of a scheme by which Mr. Campbell hopes to regenerate the Native Civil Service of this province. The scheme is really supplementary to that introduced last year, under which a competitive examination was held in February last, of certain nominated candidates for appointments in the Subordinate Executive Service and the Police and Opium Departments; and it is intimately connected with Mr. Campbell's useful but costly project of an extension of the Subordinate Executive Service by a large increase in our subdivisional establishments. To say that in its details it is as yet crude and imperfect, is only to say that it has recently come from the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, whom a powerful imagination and an extreme love of vigour seldom permit to see the force of many minor difficulties which readily occur to less imaginative and more logical mortals, to stay their hands and their pens; but that the measure when rounded and polished will have a most beneficial effect, both directly on the tone and character of the native civil officers, and indirectly on our general system of education, we do not doubt. We propose to devote a few lines to a consideration of the possible advantages that may be derived from the scheme, and of the imperfections which at present disfigure it; but before doing so, it is necessary briefly to notice the distinguishing features of the two other projects with which, as we have said, it is closely connected. The common object of all these schemes is to improve the efficiency of our native administrative agency—*first*, by raising its character and education; *secondly*, by increasing its numbers. We will briefly consider first the measures proposed by Mr. Campbell under the latter head, as being the more simple; we shall see, however, that these measures are also expected to effect some good under the former.

Mainly with "the intention of administering the Government of Bengal more actively," Mr. Campbell proposes to establish one hundred new subdivisional establishments, at an annual cost to the country of two lakhs. It is obvious at starting that the most important consideration involved in this proposal is the financial one; and here we must clearly state our conviction that neither the necessity for, nor even the utility of, the measure is so overwhelmingly apparent, as fully to justify this very heavy expenditure at a time when financial reasons are necessitating the abolition of popular Mofussil Colleges and the imposition of unpopular

rates and cesses. It should, however, be remembered, in estimating its effect on the minds of the people who supply the funds, that all this money will be expended on the people themselves—that it will provide suitable and useful employment for a large number of persons—and that in this way, if the results at all correspond to Mr. Campbell's expectations, the expenditure will be popular as well as productive. Whether the money might not be judiciously expended on other objects more popular and more productive, is another question; and one which it would be idle to discuss at length in this place.

The second consideration—the usefulness of or the necessity for the work which will actually be done by these subordinate executive officers—is again one upon which opinions will widely differ. Of course work can be created for them; and as long as Mr. Campblel is Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, we doubt not that plenty of such work will be imposed on them. Doubtless their services can be utilised in carrying out the provisions of the Road Cess Act; but it is hardly fair that the general resources of the province should be burdened (at all events to the detriment of education and similar services) with the expenditure incurred under any such Act. Again, these officers may be employed, as Mr. Campbell suggests, in attending to local public works (for they are all to be practical surveyors and engineers); but then on the other hand it will be asked, what are we going to do with our sub-divisional overseers? Again, they may be used "to superintend the details of Settlements and Government estates;" but in most of the districts of Bengal this work is very slight indeed at the present day. It is true that they will undoubtedly help "to carry on "that active supervision and administration which the Lieu-"tenant-Governor desires to see carried out;" and we will even allow that such active supervision and administration is impossible with the present staff of Deputy Magistrates, who are undoubtedly burdened with much judicial, treasury, and office work, and who moreover have no executive establishments as the tehsildárs (who are something like Bengal sub-divisional officers, on a smaller scale) have in other parts of India. Two lakhs per annum is certainly a heavy price to pay for a vaguely general increase of administrative activity; but we may fairly take into account the fact that the new establishments will enable the Government to cope more successfully with many important and interesting enquiries into local statistics, and with many economic and social problems that have hitherto eluded their grasp.

With Mr. Campbell's views on the third consideration which naturally suggests itself in connexion with the new scheme, the advantage of giving highly responsible officers like Deputy

Magistrates a good official training in subordinate posts where their inexperience will do less harm, we heartily agree. Few that have had any practical knowledge of the method in which the Subordinate Executive Service has been recruited—and we are not now speaking of the exceptional appointments of Europeans—will be inclined to differ from us when we affirm that that method has been necessarily a thoroughly faulty one, even where the best intentions have guided the selection. We believe that these appointments, involving the almost immediate exercise of some of the gravest and most solemn responsibilities that can be confided to a public officer, have of late been very generally, and almost of necessity, conferred either on raw and utterly inexperienced lads fresh from college, or on old officials who have gained their experience in the unwholesome school of the subordinate establishments of the district or divisional offices. In the former case, men of a certain amount of cultivation and social position have sometimes been secured; but the necessary result of their ignorance of the world and of official life has been, that they have had to learn the whole of their duties by a course of vivisection, at the cost of the unfortunate people committed to their apprentice hands. In the latter case, the mere routine duties of the magisterial office have perhaps usually been more efficiently performed; but the disastrous results of placing in authority ignorant and often narrow-minded men of no social position, and of no reputation or influence other than that which they derive from their official power, must be obvious to all. Mr. Campbell's new subdivisional establishments—we need not here refer to the army of *chaprásis** to be enlisted under the scheme—will involve (if the consent of the Secretary of State can be obtained) the entertainment of some 167 junior officers, who may be roughly described as apprentice Deputy Magistrates. These young men will enter the service as *Kánungoes*† on Rs. 25 a month, merely as subordinate executive officers and with no highly responsible duties; they will ordinarily rise through the various grades of Sub-deputy Magistrates on Rs. 50, Rs. 100, and Rs. 150 a month respectively, during which service they will have ample opportunity

* It is not many years since the staff of chaprásis attached to each of the Mofussil offices was ruthlessly cut down, at the cost of much heartburning amongst the officials; and now four, six, or ten chaprásis are to be added to each sub-divisional establishment by a stroke of the pen!

† Why this officer should be called a kánungo, does not quite appear. At the time when the *patwári* system flourished in Bengal, the *kánungo* was the connecting link between the Collector or other high Government official on the one hand, and the *patwáris* or local accountants on the other. But we believe that, at the present day in most Bengal districts, the *patwári* is as rare a bird as the Dodo, the need for his services having almost disappeared with the Permanent Settlement.

for acquiring a practical and thorough knowledge of the duties of a Magistrate; and by the time they obtain their full promotion and become Deputy.Magistrates, they ought (if the original material selected be good) to be well qualified to perform their functions with credit to themselves and with advantage to the people. To ensure as far as possible the selection of good material in the first place, is the object of Mr. Campbell's most recent scheme, which we shall discuss presently.

Many objections have naturally been raised against a system which makes it necessary for men, on entering the Native Civil Service, to begin on a much smaller pay than that which they formerly enjoyed. Of those objections the chief are—*first*, that a good class of men will not be attracted by such small salaries; *secondly*, that low pay will largely increase the tendency to corruption. To both these the same answer may be returned:—*viz.*, that though the commencing salary is low (*i.e.*, though we do not pay a man highly for learning his future duties), yet the prospects of every successful candidate will be very good indeed; and will be quite sufficient both to attract good men, and to act as a pledge of good conduct. On these points, the analogy with the English Civil Service, adduced by the Lieutenant-Governor undoubtedly holds. In the Government offices in Whitehall and Pall Mall, the salary on entering is hardly ever more than £100 a year, which, allowing for the difference in the cost of living in India and England, is certainly not more than the first pay of a *kánungo;* and yet these appointments are immensely coveted, and attract shoals of young men of good family and of the highest cultivation. In January 1859, eight writerships in the India Office in London (the pay commencing at £80, and rising to £100 *after ten years' service*) were thrown open to public competition. The total number of applicants for copies of the regulations and forms was 789; of whom 391 actually competed! No less than 70 of these had received their education at a University or Public School; a very large proportion were the sons of gentlemen.

We now come to the measures by which Mr. Campbell proposes to effect a selection of good materials for his Native Civil Service. These are twofold in their operation. He orders, in the first place, an examination to be held into the literary and physical qualifications of each candidate for employment, the examination to be open to all comers under certain conditions; and, in the second place, the establishment of a College (or rather a department of a College) in which aspirants may obtain the training required for this examination. The first examination was held last February; and the amended rules for the next

examination have just been published in the *Gazette*, together with a tag in the form of a Resolution ordering the immediate establishment, in connexion with the Hugli College, of a Department in which students will be prepared for the various requirements of the Civil Service curriculum.

Some of the native newspapers have strongly objcted to a saving clause attached to the notification of the rules for the examinations, to the effect that the pass-certificate "will give no claim to an appointment;" but this, though doubtless a necessary precaution, is certainly little more than a *façon de parler*; and is, indeed, in accordance with the usage that prevails in England in similar examinations. But we think it is much to be regretted that the notification does not state more explicitly what (or at least what kind of) appointments are intended to be the prizes of successful candidates. There are vague references to the "Subordinate Executive Service"; which, in the present transition state of that Service, may mean either a Kánungoship on Rs. 25 or a Deputy Magistracy on Rs. 200. "Other civil appointments," "Police and Non-Regulation appointments," "the Opium Department," are all vaguely referred to; but we fear that not many of the candidates will have a very clear idea of what is in store for them in case they succeed. Again, there is another division which clashes with this one. The prizes to be competed for are divided into "appointments of more than Rs. 100 a month," and "appointments of less than Rs. 100 a month." Yet no one appears to know whether these "lower appointments" are to posts which will *never* give more than Rs. 100; or whether they are to Kánungoships and the like, *i.e.*, to the "higher appointments" in an earlier stage. If the former supposition be true, the fact ought to be notified, in justice to the young men who may enter for these lower appointments. If the latter supposition be true, then we are strongly of opinion that the establishment of examinations for the "higher appointments," *i.e.*, for direct appointments to a higher grade of a Service which ought to be entered at the bottom, is a great blunder; as it renders impossible that official training of the higher officers, which (as we said above) seems to be the best feature in Mr. Campbell's sub-divisional scheme.

The following classes of persons only are to be admitted to the higher examinations:—(1) graduates in Arts, Law, Medicine, or Engineering; (2) persons who have passed the First Arts Examination, and have filled for not less than one year a permanent appointment above that of copyist in one of the Government Civil Departments; (3) persons who have passed the Entrance Examination, and have been three years in the service of Government;

(4) persons who have been six years in the Government service; (5) persons specially nominated by a Secretary to Government. Less stringent but precisely similar conditions are imposed on those who wish to enter for the lower appointments.* A difficulty will be found under this head, with regard to the students of the Hugli Civil Service College. Few if any of these will have ever been in the Government service; and consequently, accordingly to the above rules, they will not be eligible for the examination for higher posts, unless they happen to be graduates, or to be nominated by a Secretary to Government. But this is probably an oversight which will be attended to hereafter.† The concession made to graduates is a reasonable and proper one; and will probably increase *pro tanto* the popularity of the University, and do something to atone for the injuries inflicted on its affiliated Colleges by Mr. Campbell in his late abolitions. The premium put on previous Government service in low appointments is the worst part of the whole scheme, in our opinion. True, experience of a kind will be gained; but we doubt whether such experience is worth much; and even if it were, it would be very dearly bought by the immense sacrifice of *prestige*—not to speak of the very questionable lessons which are often learnt by service in a subordinate position in the civil offices. We trust, however, that the pernicious effects of this provision will be neutralised by the provision itself becoming inoperative, which appears highly probable; for of the three broad

* Except that for "natives of Hindústán and of other districts which may be hereafter specially notified, who have served Government with credit and efficiency for not less than three years," only proof of a good knowledge of the *vernacular* is required. Objection has been taken to this, as unduly favouring Hindústánis at the expense of Bengális; but the concession is perhaps advisable for the present, considering the backward state of English education in Bihár and other Hindústáni-speaking districts. In para. 2 of the Notification it is stated that *all* candidates will be required to attend a preliminary examinations in *English* and vernacular, if they "have not already qualified in those subjects." As this rule is perfectly general, it bars the above-mentioned exemption of Hindústánis. This ambiguity will have to be modified, or the exemption will have to be withdrawn—the latter alternative being preferable as soon as a sufficient number of English-speaking Hindústáni candidates can be obtained.

† According to the strict letter of the regulations as now issued, it would appear to be the intention of the Government that, of the students of the Hugli Civil Service College, only those who have actually graduated in one of the four faculties will be exempted from the condition of having been in the Government employment—one year's service being required from those who have passed the First Arts, three years from those who have passed the Entrance, and six years from those who are not members of the University at all.

If these conditions are insisted on, we fear they will be fatal to the success of the new department. At any rate, the point is one which should be at once cleared up.

classes admitted by these conditions—Government clerks,* graduates of the University, and (if our supposition be true) students of the Hugli Civil Service College—we imagine that in an open literary and athletic competition, very few indeed of the first-mentioned class will be likely to succeed.

So much for the persons who are eligible, and who are allowed to present themselves as candidates for appointments. We next come to the preliminary certificates, of which each candidate has to present three. These are :—(1) a certificate of good moral character, (2) a medical certificate of sound health, (3) a certificate of riding (for appointments above Rs. 100) or of walking (for those below Rs. 100) ; to which we presume will ultimately be added a certificate of age, though this point is at present left open. With these obviously necessary conditions we have no fault to find ; except with regard to the riding and walking certificates, where the inconvenience of the arbitrary division of all appointments at the vague line of a monthly salary of Rs. 100, is more than ever apparent. If the appointments above and below this line are henceforward to be different in *kind* as well as in degree of pay, the division would be intelligible—and so would be the difference in the nature of the certificate required ; but at present we are left in entire ignorance on this point, and are consequently not in a position to understand the reasons of the distinction made in the matter of the certificates. On the general question of the necessity for a test of physical activity, we are entirely at one with the Lieutenant-Governor ; such a test has long been imposed on the Covenanted Civil Service—and is even more necessary in the case of native civil officers, whose national habits do not warrant an *a priori* presumption of their fitness in this respect.

In attempting to criticise the scheme of examinations, and the educational arrangements in the Civil Service department of the

* Whilst we deprecate the recruiting of the Native Civil Service from the lower ministerial servants of the Government, we do not include under this category (it is almost unnecessary to say) the higher Assistants in the Secretariats and other important Government offices ; whose duties are most important, and whose social position often is (and always should be) equal to that of Deputy Magistrates. The appointment of one of these gentlemen to any post in the Subordinate Executive Service would be unexceptionable, as far as the position and probable character of the nominee are concerned ; but these are obviously not the men referred to in the Notification, for they would lose rather than gain by being appointed to a junior post in the Subordinate Executive Service under the new arrangements. It would probably be an advantage to the public service if some of these Assistantships were included in the general scheme ; and something of this sort will be necessary, if (as appears likely) Mr. Campbell intends to form a homogeneous Native Civil Service on the model of the English Home Service.

Hugli College intended to correspond therewith, we are met by the same difficulty—that of the arbitrary division of the prizes into two classes, differing apparently (for the examinations appear to be identical) in degree only, not in kind. We fear that this difficulty will greatly exercise the minds of aspirants; but as we have already discussed it, we need say nothing further on the point. The examinations are divided into two parts—(1) the compulsory part, apparently corresponding to the "Test" or "necessary qualification" of the English Civil Service; (2) optional subjects, probably intended to correspond with the "competitive" of the Home Service. For the higher posts, the compulsory subjects are—(1) Vernacular; (2) Drawing, Surveying, and Engineering; (3) Law; and (except in the case of University graduates or undergraduates, and of Hindústánis who have fulfilled the conditions noted above at page 192), also (4) English dictation and composition, and Arithmetic. Of these subjects the fourth does not (as far as we can discover from the rules) count in the competition; and this arrangement is obviously necessary, as the exceptions made above will probably exempt the majority of the candidates from this portion of the examination. For the lower posts, Law is only an optional subject; and for all, the remaining optional subjects are (1) the elements of Botany and Chemistry, and (2) Gymnastics. As every candidate who passes (however ingloriously) in these optional subjects, is to be preferred to any who passes (however well) in the compulsory subjects, it is evident that—unless the competition be much more limited that it is at all likely to be—no man who confines his attention to the compulsory subjects will have a ghost of a chance of success; and so the division into compulsory and optional is not an important one.

The subjects appear to be, on the whole, remarkably well chosen. We notice, however, with regret that good English acquirements count for nothing in the examination. It is true these acquirements, if vouched for by success in a University examination, are taken as a criterion (amongst others) that a man is *eligible as a candidate.* But they give him no advantage in the competition. We are willing to allow that other qualifications may fairly be allowed equal weight, but it seems to us absurd to regard an acquaintance with English as no qualification at all.

The advantage of demanding a good knowledge of the vernacular—Hindústáni for Bihár, and Bengáli, Assamese, or Uriya for the lower parts of the province—and of Law, from all candidates for the higher posts, is so evident that the stipulation needs no comment. For sub-divisional officers, an acquaintance with Drawing, Surveying, and Engineering is of the highest value; and though its necessity is not so evident in the case of officers in the Police or Opium Departments, its general utility and importance

will render its imposition as a compulsory subject in all cases, harmless in itself and valuable as giving uniformity to the official training. We have steadily opposed, in the pages of this *Review*, all attempts to introduce these and similar practical subjects as necessary portions of a *general* liberal education—simply because no one such subject can possibly be useful to all or even the majority of the highly educated men of this or any other country, and because other subjects are more useful as mental discipline. But we have as strenuously urged their introduction into our schools and colleges where practicable, and into the curriculum of the University of Calcutta as *optional* subjects. We object to force on unwilling learners studies which are essentially technical, and which properly take their place in a special technical education; of the immense advantages that must accrue to this country of undeveloped resources, from the wide diffusion of such practical knowledge amongst students whose tastes or whose future avocations demand it, it is impossible to entertain a doubt. To no one except a professional engineer, is a competent knowledge of surveying and engineering likely to be of so much practical use as to a sub-divisional officer; he will have to investigate questions of disputed boundaries, to make roads, to build culverts, to dig tanks, to superintend hundreds of operations in which his knowledge will be turned to account in one way or another, almost daily. The scheme before us, in insisting on the possession of such knowledge as a qualification for offices in which it is so obviously required, promises to effect an important revolution in the conduct of those petty local public works which have hitherto generally been a disgrace to the country. Nearly the same remarks will apply to elementary Botany and Chemistry, which we are almost sorry to see made optional instead of compulsory in the present technical course. Some acquaintance with the principles of scientific agriculture seems absolutely essential in an executive officer of an agricultural country, of whose duties not the least important or least honourable ought to be the development of its agricultural resources; and scientific agriculture is impossible without a knowledge of elementary botany and chemistry. It is difficult to imagine a nobler field for the patriotic ambition of a native civil officer, than that which is offered by the possibility of immensely improving the position of the cultivators of the soil and increasing the material wealth of the country, by the introduction of improved methods of tillage; and it is at any rate the duty of the Government to provide that its officers are not incapacitated, by ignorance of simple scientific principles, from attempting this important task.

Experience of the results will alone enable us to form any opinion as to the advisability of making Gymnastics, which

is the only remaining subject, an optional part of the scheme —the optional parts being also, as we have seen, virtually compulsory. On the one hand we are led to fear, from the flabby and fatty muscles and generally feeble *physique* of the ordinary Bengáli Bábú, that a course of athletic exercises may prove more than his enervated constitution can bear. On the other hand, we all know what wonders good training, neither too hasty nor too severe, can effect on comparatively weak subjects; and the strength and powers of endurance that are manifested by some of the lower classes in Bengal—notably the *bhistis* and the palki-bearers—will occur to every one as evidence that these qualities are not absolutely denied to Bengális either by the climate or by their physical constitutions. Some reform in this direction will at any rate be safely effected by the 'riding' and the 'walking' regulations. If the full measure can be introduced without injury to the health of the candidates, the reform will be in itself of the greatest importance, and may possibly lead to a regeneration of the national habits in these respects by the encouragement which it will give to activity and manliness. It should, however, be introduced at first tentatively only, and with great caution. The proviso about swimming is harmless, but almost unnecessary; we imagine that there are few Bengáli students in our colleges who are not expert swimmers.

We believe that the liberal provision which has been made by the Lieutenant-Governor for instruction of candidates in the required subjects, by the establishment of a special department for the purpose at Hugli College, will be duly appreciated by those who are most nearly concerned; and we gladly hail anything like a *rapprochement* between the Government and the people of this province on any one side of the vexed question of State education. The wisdom of the selection of Hugli as the location of the new college is, we think, obvious: in point of accessibility it is fairly central; it is sufficiently near Calcutta to offer all the advantages, without involving the large expense and the frightful temptations of student-life in the capital; and the Hugli College already possesses a large Muhammadan endowment, from which deserving students of that nationality may fairly be helped if they wish to qualify themselves to enter the public service. With regard to the latter point, we ought to notice that some of the native papers appear to be inclined, evidently on mistaken grounds, to evolve a petty Hindu grievance out of the fact that Muhammadan students will only be required to pay (as they do at present in the general department of the Hugli College) a tuition fee of one rupee a mouth, instead of the five rupees to be exacted from every one else; it should of course be remembered that the remaining four rupees are supplied rather by the endowment of

Muhammad Mohsin than by the public funds, and that consequently the arrangement is a perfectly equitable one.

In conclusion we will briefly recapitulate the chief points in which we think this highly important and valuable educational measure calls for revision. They are:—*first*, the insufficient recognition of English acquirements as a useful qualification, amongst other equally useful qualifications, for public employment; *secondly*, the absence of any distinct and explicit declaration as to the class of appointments which will be obtained by the successful students of the Hugli Civil Service College; *thirdly*, the inconvenient and illogical division of appointments into the two ill-defined classes of "those above Rs. 100 a month" and "those below Rs. 100 a month"—where we are left in ignorance as to whether the classes differ in kind, or only in degree, and as to whether promotion can or cannot be obtained from the lower class to the higher class without further examination.

Vigorous Government.

IN our last paper on this subject we were unable to discuss the questions connected with the late disturbances at Lúdhiáná as fully as we could have wished, because the official papers on the case had not yet been published. They have since appeared, and they have been so fully commented on by the press that it will be sufficient to place before our readers the following brief account of the facts of the case.

On 12th January last, there was the usual quarterly meeting of the chief Kúkás and their followers at the house of their Gúrú Ram Singh at his village of Bhainé in the district of Lúdhiáná. At that meeting a small portion of the sect announced their intention of resorting to violence, and of commencing the war by taking the town of Malehr Kotla. Notice of this was sent to Mr. Cowan, the district officer, who sent warning to the authorities concerned. On the 13th this band of fanatics proceeded to put their threat into execution; by the afternoon of the 15th the expedition had ended in an ignominious failure, and the remnant of the band that had escaped the sword had surrendered themselves to the first native official, Niáz Ali, tehsildár of Sherpur, who rode up to them with a few horsemen.

On hearing that the outbreak had actually occurred, Mr. Cowan at once proceeded to the spot; but on the 16th he was met by Niáz Ali, who informed him that the affair had collapsed, and that the whole of the survivors were prisoners in his hands. Mr. Cowan ordered them to be brought to Kotla. On the morning of the 17th, whilst awaiting their arrival, he wrote a despatch to his official superior announcing his intention of putting all of them to

death *in order to prevent similar risings in future*; and this intention he afterwards most fully carried out.

The movement was crushed by no act of Mr. Cowan's, but, as he himself readily admits, by the resistance offered by the first authorities who opposed the insurgents. It is not alleged that it was impossible to conduct the prisoners to Lúdhiáná, or that their execution was necessary to put down an existing rebellion. The sole excuse offered for it is this, that had not the movement failed at the outset it might have become serious; that unless a "*terrible warning*" were given, a "*similar*" movement might take place at some future time; and a partial success, the effect of which would be disastrous, might possibly attend it. Mr. Cowan therefore took it upon himself to give this warning, "being fully aware of the responsibility he was incurring." The policy of his act was condemned by every one of his superiors; even his most devoted admirer, *Indian Public Opinion*, will not guarantee its perfect wisdom. The Supreme Government on whose behalf the act was committed not only disavows it, but also dismisses its author from the service, and severely censures the Commissioner who supported him.

We are asked to condemn this decision with every epithet in our vocabulary, because.

1. It is unjustly severe; it is virtual ruin to a man who has served the State well for years, and whose only fault has been at most an error of judgment.

2. The act itself is an example of vigour and zeal,—qualities which, even when they run to excess, should not be repressed in an Indian official.

3. The effect of the action of the Government on the native mind is disastrous. It will be regarded by the loyal as a slur on them, and by the disloyal as a proof of weakness. Condemn it as strongly as you like, Mr. Cowan's act was irrevocable; nothing could be gained by repudiating it, except the "applause of the sickly sentimentalist of Exeter Hall"; every argument of expediency was in favour of at least openly supporting it.

Let us example these reasons in detail. Firstly, is the sentence unnecessarily severe? For Mr. Cowan personally we have ths very greatest sympathy, and we should have it even were his offence morally greater than it is. But we cannot help remembering that his act was of its very nature one of those which make or mar a whole career; and that it was committed after its author had had time for the fullest deliberation, and when he was perfectly aware of the responsibility he was undertaking. He played for a high stake; had he won, that is, had the Government cordially endorsed his policy, he would have been a made man. He has lost, and he must pay the forfeit. In our

opinion, the Government had no alternative but to reward handsomely, or condemn severely; to record a formal resolution that fifty men were illegally and unnecessarily put to death, and to punish the officer who ordered the execution by reducing him a few steps in his department, would have been simply to display that desire to please irreconcileable parties which is the true mark of imbecility. We do not see how it was possible for the Government, taking the view that it did of Mr. Cowan's conduct, to retain him in its service. But we think that having shown its severity, it can now take into consideration his long and approved service—his one fault is sufficiently punished by a sentence which prevents him from serving the State in future; his past services to it should now be remembered. We have heard (and we most sincerely trust that it is the case) that the Government of India have strongly urged the Secretary of State to grant Mr. Cowan the pension he would have received, had his retirement been voluntary. We hope and believe that this recommendation will be successful; and the pension granted, the most liberal allowed by existing rules. The only thing that can prevent this, is the indiscreet zeal of Mr. Cowan's would-be friends; if they insist on making a money present to him a testimonial of approval of his conduct, they can scarcely be surprised if those who disapprove withhold this present.

Secondly, was the act really a display of vigour? We are utterly at a loss to conceive why it should be considered so. Had Mr. Cowan himself met the insurgents in the field at the first outset, and defeated them, fighting against enormous odds, and had he in the moment of victory, before he knew the extent of the movement, thought it necessary to make a terrible example, we might well pardon his severity even if we did not approve of it. As it was, he simply, after all danger was past, ordered the execution of fifty unarmed prisoners with whose capture he had had nothing whatever to do. No doubt the uneducated men by whom Mr. Cowan was surrounded applauded his action as vigorous; under such circumstances a native subordinate would always urge his superior to make an example. "*Umda* sazá dewe," he would say. When the crime with which the prisoners are charged is unpopular, the mob always demand their instant execution, and the official who complied with their demand would for the moment be considered a ruler of the true stamp. But to do so is essentially a proof of weakness; the really strong man is he whom

> Non civium ardor prava jubentium
> Mente quatit solida.

True vigour is shown by controlling, and not in being carried away by, popular excitement. The zeal and vigour which consist

in repudiating the sound principles which have been deliberately laid down by the Government for the guidance of its subordinates, and in rushing to every excess dictated by the passion of the moment, are qualities which cannot be too strongly repressed.

Thirdly, what has been the effect of the action of the Government on the native mind? Amongst the educated natives, as represented by their organs in their press, it has met with the strongest approval. As regards loyal men in the Panjáb, the feeling is no doubt somewhat different; those who urged on Mr. Cowan his policy of vigour, and who assisted him in carrying it out, cannot be pleased to find their policy utterly condemned; those who did not themselves take part in the movement would be likely to have their judgment warped by the same failing, that wish to give an "*umda sazá,*" as those who did. Again, it is undoubted that, as a rule, European feeling is strongly against the Government; and it would require a greater amount of moral courage than is usually found in a native gentleman to stoutly maintain in opposition to the European that Mr. Cowan had been justly removed. Yet we are assured that there are many who view the matter in its true light, although they abstain from openly, or at any rate loudly, expressing their opinions. That they should so abstain is not singular. Who of us when we hear the imbecility of the Government and the heroism of Mr. Cowan proved to the satisfaction of a mess-room audience with many thumps on the table, thinks it necessary to express his dissent unless distinctly called on to do so? But granting that the opinion of loyal natives in the Panjáb generally condemns the Government despatch, we must remember that the Panjáb is not the whole of India, and that even in the Panjáb opinion changes. We must look not at what men think now and in the excitement of the moment, but rather at what they will think when the excitement has passed away, if we desire to estimate truly the effect of the Government action. We shall be much mistaken if ten or even five years hence the truth of its policy is not almost universally recognised. That the disloyal should look on it as a sign of weakness is precisely what we pointed out in our last notice as inevitable. We have shown, as we were compelled to show, that we dared not complete our policy of "vigour," or rather the Supreme Government has shown that it utterly repudiates from the first such a policy. That there should even have been an appearance of vacillation is due to the unfortunate action of Mr. Forsyth in confirming Mr. Cowan's acts. No doubt he was actuated only by a chivalrous desire to support his subordinate, whose action he had privately condemned as strongly as any one. But an officer in his position should not allow himself to be swayed by private feelings, however generous; the duty of

a superior officer is to control his subordinate, and not blindly confirm all his indiscretions. Had Mr. Forsyth at once shown this disapproval of Mr. Cowan's action, the Government would have been saved from much embarrassment, and the Panjáb would not have lost one of its finest officers. If a retreat from a false position has to be made, the sooner it is made the better. No doubt Kúkás may again be raising their heads; a man usually does so if he has been stunned, not killed, nor it is surprising if his first words should be unfriendly to the man who struck the blow. From the time of the breaking out of the disturbances at Lúdhiáná, the whole of the Kúkás have been subjected to restrictions which fall little short of persecution; they have been forbidden to leave their villages; meetings of five or more of the sect have been declared illegal, and in many districts the police have seemed to take a delight in inflicting on them every kind of petty annoyance. What wonder then if, on the cessation of these annoyances, they assume an attitude which their opponents think not sufficiently submissive. No doubt many of them may attribute what seems to be the change in the Government policy to fear; they will be more likely to do so if the English press wilfully and maliciously misrepresent that policy. *Indian Public Opinion* thinks it a brilliant joke to suggest that 300,000 copies of the Government despatch, in Gúrmukhi, should be distributed by colporteurs; the argument being that unless the peasants to whom the copies were given could show, by submitting to a searching cross-examination, that they followed accurately the train of reasoning of the despatch, there would be irresistible evidence that the "broad principles" on which it professed to be based were contemptible. We confess that the maxim, that no man shall be punished otherwise than by due course of law, appears to us so undoubtedly true, that nothing short of the clearest necessity would induce us to depart from it; we certainly should not reject it because a few fanatics were unable to appreciate it, even if the editor of a local paper showed himself equally ignorant. True soldiers do not find it necessary to fire on a crowd simply because they are jeered at by a few small boys.

The whole of the reasons advanced in condemnation of the Government despatch appear to us utterly unfounded; but even were there more strength in them than there is, there is a far higher reason which amply justifies the declaration of the Government. It is the necessity that existed of not merely rewarding or punishing Messrs. Forsyth and Cowan, but of declaring once for all the principles on which the country is to be governed.

There are two diametrically opposite principles advocated. The one most popular with Europeans is the "conquered country" or "damned nigger" theory. When stated under the latter form

it is offensive to our taste; but the principle underlying it is the same as if we use the euphemistic language of the Government despatch, and describe the principle as a "feeling that the law is all very well for quiet times." Stated as calmly as possible the idea is this:—the country *is* a conquered country, and the prestige of the conquerors must be maintained at all costs; there can be no true amalgamation between the conquerors and conquered; all real power must be retained in the hands of the ruling race; and this power must be practically unlimited. True, we are no advocates of the "nigger-thrashing" blackguards, we would punish them severely; but only on the ground of humanity, just as we would punish them for cruelty to animals, and not on the ground that their act has infringed the rights of a fellow-subject. We may legislate as if they were really fellow-subjects, and draw up our laws in the language of equality; and as far as regards natives amongst themselves we may actually put these laws into practice. As regards ourselves, at any rate in our official capacity, these laws are simply the paper constitution of a despot. They please certain theorists, and may be allowed to exist as long as they are harmless; the moment they appear to fetter our discretion, we will trample them under foot. We do not need the plea of necessity to justify us, we possess all the executive power of oriental despots. To punish us, you must prove that we have abused that power, not merely that we have transgressed a paper law.

The other principle, which degenerates into sickly sentimentality less often than the despotic theory into "damned niggerism," is this. The question, what was the origin of British power in India, is one that belongs rather to the historian than to the statesman. It is sufficient for the latter that the power exists, the people under it have become British subjects, and are entitled to be governed on British principles; the essence of those principles is the rule that the Government shall be the impartial administration of existing laws, and not the will of an official; no one shall be excluded from office on account of race; if out of 100 men possessing the necessary qualifications for office, 99 are Europeans, this is no reason for excluding the 100th, a native; what laws should be made, and who should make them, must be decided by the actual condition of the society for which they are intended, but when they have once been made, they must be as carefully and impartially administered in an Indian district as in an English county. The maintenance of the existing Government involves no question of class supremacy; every official, whether in England or in India, is bound to prevent the overthrow of the Government he serves; if security cannot be attained without a disregard of the law, the law must be disregarded, but all officers must thoroughly understand that in setting aside the law they are undertaking a serious

responsibility; the only plea which can justify them is the plea of necessity. Doubtless facts which would fail to support the plea in England would often be deemed sufficient in India, but in both cases the existence of the necessity is a question of fact; should the Government find that the necessity did *not* exist, and that there was no sufficient reason for believing in its existence, the officer who set aside the law must expect punishment in proportion to his offence; neither in India nor in England can he be allowed to raise the plea that he possesses a general power of suspending the law when he thinks fit, and that he can only be called to account when his exercise of this power shows actual malice.

It is this latter principle which Her Majesty on assuming the Government of India openly proclaimed as the basis of her rule. The Government of India by the recent despatch has declared that Her Majesty's proclamation is to be seriously carried out, and not kept for show on State occasions. We believe that the principle is true, and the declaration of the Government necessary.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, our opinion as to the necessity of the Government declaration has been only too thoroughly confirmed. The *Pioneer*, which is one of the best and most temperate of Indian papers, in its issue of 27th May quotes an extract from *Indian Public Opinion*, to the effect that it is probable that another Kuká outbreak will take place before long. It adds the following comment:—"We hope that this is true, and that the Cowan deputed to quell it *will take no prisoners*." When the editor of an able and influential journal can calmly write that he *hopes*, merely to obtain what he would consider proof of the correctness of his former views, that an outbreak will take place which must result in the death certainly of many natives, and possibly of many Europeans, and which will inevitably add to the existing ill-feeling between the two races, is it not abundant proof that European public opinion needs a lesson in common humanity?

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I. Vernacular Literature.

I. Visva darpana. A fortnightly Magazine. Parts I and II. Paus, 1278. Calcutta.

THE editor of this magazine promises in his preface to provide short and easily understood articles on morals, literature, science, politics, and social topics, for the benefit of children. The subjects treated of in the first of the numbers under review, are "The Atmosphere," "English education in Bengal," "Christmas day," and an account of "Nelly Brandon." Of these, the second one deserves some attention, inasmuch as it is an attack on English education in this country. The views of the writer may be summed up in the following words:—A nation never really attains prosperity until its mother-tongue is duly cultivated; the Bengális will never attain the excellence for which they are struggling until the almost exclusive cultivation of the English language as at present followed, is discontinued. In reply to the other party who object to the Bengáli being made a national language for education, on the ground of its not having in store a sufficient number of readable books, it being a language that is newly developing itself, he says that the books which at present exist in the language are sufficient for the purposes of a liberal education. He therefore advises the Government to give prominence to Bengáli; and to establish Bengáli schools all over the country instead of wasting the public money on colleges and English schools. One college in the whole Presidency, and one English school in each zillah, are quite sufficient; aided schools are not required. We decline to give a lengthy criticism of the opinions advocated here; suffice it to say that the fallacy of the argument is apparent, the subject a hackneyed one, and that Utopias without any tincture of reason are wholly worthless.

The second of these numbers treats of "Light and Darkness," "The necessity of a Marriage Act," and a translation of the "*Márkandeya Purána.*" As far as opinions are concerned, we do not hesitate to say that we differ from the editor on nearly every point which he discusses. We doubt if the translation of the "*Márkandeya Purána*" be intended for children, as the editor professes; it certainly is not suited to their tender years.

Visva darpana. Monthly. No .III. Chaitra, 1278. Calcutta: New School Book Press.

THE apparently interesting articles of this number are "The late Lord Mayo and the future Governor-General," "National fairs," "Air," "An inquiry into the constitution of man," and translations of the "*Adhyátma Rámáyana*" and the "*Markandeya Purána.*" The writer of the first article after trying his skill in defending or rather attempting to defend, some of the acts of the deceased Viceroy, exhorts Loed Northbrook to discourage the study of English, and make the Bengáli language a principal branch of education in this country. The writer seems somewhat hazy in his notions on the science of politics, as his remarks on the question of local taxation abundantly show.

Visva darpana. Monthly. No. IV. Vaisákha, 1279. Calcutta: New School Book Press.

AMONG the subjects treated of in the Vaisákha number, the readable ones are "Mr. Campbell and the Education Department," and "An appeal to Lord Northbrook." The first contains much the same views that were maintained in the last number of this review, only that the author adds some of his idiosyncracies in favour of Bengáli. In the second he requests His Excellency to pay special attention to the income-tax question, education, the administration of justice, and the Legislative Councils. Speaking of the last, he remarks, "It is usual for the Viceregal and Bengal Legislative Councils to take in more Europeans than natives, as members. This is the root of all evil, and the sooner this evil is eradicated the better."

Visva darpana. Monthly. No. V. Jaistha, 1279. Calcutta: New School Book Press.

THIS number first of all takes up Mr. Stephen's "New Criminal Procedure Bill," and criticises some of its sections in a fair spirit. The censure pronounced on the mode of teaching in the Sanskrit College at present, is to some extent just; but the other article—that on "Indian Commerce"—is quite worthless. The editor has undoubtedly good intentions in view in undertaking to translate the "*Adhyátma Rámáyana*" and the "*Márkandeya Purána;*" but we fear they will not be acceptable to the masses, since Bengáli Johnsonese is disliked by every one except the Pandits of vernacular schools.

It is almost needless to say that the papers before us will not be of much use to any one;—not to children, for the subjects are uninteresting, and unintelligible to young minds; nor to grown up men for they are almost all commonplace; and it is not

using too strong language to say, that some of them are the unnatural productions of a morbid imagination. The style is bad, and sometimes sullied with vulgarisms.

Banga Darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Babu Bankim Chandra Chattopádhyáya. Vol., I. No. 1. Baisákh, 1279. Sáptáhika Sambáda Press: Bhavánípur.

MR. RUSKIN in the first volume of his "Modern Painters," speaking of public judgment, remarks, "It is a matter of the simplest demonstration that no man can be really appreciated but by his equal or superior. His inferior may over-estimate him in enthusiasm; or as is more commonly the case, degrade him in ignorance; but he cannot form a grounded and just estimate." Such has been the lot of this magazine. No sooner was it out of the press than criticisms, rather censures, some ungrounded, and some proceeding from a sort of jealousy, were showered upon it from all sides. Others again carried away by Babu Bankim's name were more rapturous in their praise than Goethe for the "*Sakuntalá.*" The publisher announces in the prospectus that he will conduct this magazine after the manner of the best English journals of the day. The articles, for the most part, are to be on historical, social, philosophical, and scientific subjects; and such other topics as shall confer a lasting benefit on the public.

The subjects treated of in the present number are "The Stain of India," "The Woman-flower," "The "Poisonous Tree," a tale by Bankima Chandra Chattopádhyáya, "We are great men," "Music," "Eloquence," &c. The writer of the first article wants to show by direct and indirect proofs, as well as by illustrations drawn from Indian history, that the ancient Hindús were a warlike race. In spite of these proofs the Hindús are still regarded as wholly wanting in military valour.

This he ascribes to three reasons:—

1. The Hindús have no historical literature of their own. The nations that have won for themselves a place in history have all sung their own praises; the Romans had their Livy and Tacitus; the Greeks, their Herodotus and Thucydides; the Muhammadans, their Firishtah and Fazl; but the Hindus have had no witness to their deeds.

2. Almost all the nations that are commonly called warlike carried their arms beyond the precincts of their own dominions; the Hindús have not much to account for on that score, and that is the reason why they are branded with the name of "cowards."

3. The Indians have lived under the subjection of foreign nations for a long time.

It may be asked, If the Hindús are not lacking in valour, as they are here represented to be, why could they not free themselves

from the yoke of their foreign conquerors? This, our author answers, is attributable to the entire absence of a love of freedom, and of an attachment to a particular nationality. We would gladly have gone through the whole of this article, but our space is too small to permit our doing so. The fourth article on our list is a satire on the readiness with which the Bengális change their dress with every change of rulers and fashions; but the writer's attempts at wit are unfortunately miserable. The piece of poetry "The Woman-flower" is elegantly written.

Banga darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Bankim Chandra Chattopádhyáya. Vol. I., No. 2. Jaistha, 1279. Sáptáhika Sambáda press: Bhavánipur.

"ELOQUENCE, or a Review of Society," is ably written. The writer wants to show that though India cannot boast of a Demosthenes or a Cicero, yet Sákya Singha and Sankarácháryya, Válmiki and Vyása, were orators, inasmuch as they produced in the minds of their audience and readers an effect equal to that which the "Philippics" did in those of the Athenians. How far this is true, we leave it to the judgments of the readers of this magazine. "The greatness of man,—how attained," is a sort of an epitome of the history of the rise and fall of the ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabians and Indians, as well as of the English in modern times. The magnanimity and the love of excellence of the Greeks, the force of arms and an excessive desire of territorial aggrandisement of the Romans; the ardent religious zeal of the Arabs; the extreme abstinence from all worldly felicity, and a love of knowledge of the Indians;—all these are the chief causes which tended to make these nations *great*, in the strictest sense of the term. So far we have nothing to say; but when he attributes the greatness of England to an inordinate lust of wealth, we beg to differ from him. Are not force of arms, skill in war, and a love of freedom unsurpassed, nay unequalled, by any other nation under the sun, the chief causes? Are the works of Palgrave and Hume, Froude and Macaulay, the mere narratives of the love of gain of the English nation? Were the unintermittent struggles of the Commons for the last seven centuries all for naught but love of gain, and not for an equal share of civil and political freedom with England's proud aristocracy? The article on "Music" embodies much real knowledge, and is somewhat interesting; and the "Review of Babu Nrisingha Chandra's Bengali translation of the *Uttaracharita*" displays great critical acumen, but should we not take this opportunity to demand from the researches of our Bengali scholars an authentic account of the poet himself, and the age in which he flourished.

Banga darsana. A monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Babu Bankim Chandra Chattopádhyáya. Vol. I., No. 3. Asar, 1279. Sáptáhika Sambáda press: Bhavánipur.

IT is almost a received opinion that as civilisation advances knowledge keeps pace with it, but morality remains in the same state. "Man has studied every part of nature, the mineral treasures in the bowels of the earth, the flowers of each season, the animals of every continent, the laws of storms, and the movements of the heavenly bodies; he has analysed every substance, dissected every organism, he knows every bone and muscle, every nerve and fibre of his own body to the ultimate elements which compose his flesh and blood; he has meditated on the nature of his soul, on the laws of his mind, and tried to penetrate into the last causes of all being,"—and yet morality has remained exactly at that stage where it was when the first man tilled the ground for his subsistence. The writer tries to canvas these opinions, and after much wearisome discussion arrives at the following conclusions: first, that many of the cruel customs that are prevalent amongst savage nations are not to be found amongst civilized ones; second, the cruelties and licentious freedoms of the nations of prehistoric times have become the nursery tales of the nations of the nineteenth century; third, in these historic times, equality, liberty, and other moral virtues are gaining ground day by day, and are tending to reform modern society. This is a short summary of what the writer has to say in his article on "Knowledge and Morals." Though we differ from him in particular points, we believe the main doctrines inculcated here to be true. The article on "Cards" reflects great credit on the writer for the ingenuity he has shown in comparing the cards with some of the characters whom we meet with every day in Bengali society. The last one on "Wit" is commonplace. The present number of this magazine contains a few lines of exceedingly well-written poetry. The subject is "Morning;" the rhymes are melodious, and the description quite natural and pleasing. We do not recollect to have seen such true poetry for many a long day, except perhaps in some of the pieces by Babu Hem Chandra Bandopádhyáya, lately reprinted from the *Education Gazette*. We defer for the present any criticism on "The Poisonous Tree"—the new novel by Babu Bankim, and patiently await its being brought to an end.

The amount of learning and historical knowledge displayed here proves the truth of the *Hindu Patriot's* remarks, that many of the Bengali authors of the day are gentlemen who combine a thorough mastery of the English language with scholarship in their mother-tongue. We wish the magazine all success; but if it is intended for the Bengali *public*, a class of men almost wholly uneducated, and not for the educated few

only, does it not demand from its readers a greater amount of knowledge than they are in a position to give?

Jámái barika. A Comedy. By Dinabandhu Mittra. Calcutta: New Sanskrit Press. Sambat, 1929.

WE fear that this play will not add much to the reputation of Bábú Dinabandhu; for some reasons we think that it would have been better if he had never written it. It has a poor plot, if plot it can be called at all. Abhayakúmár, who is the son-in-law of Bijayaballabha, is at first slighted by his wife; he leaves his country and takes refuge at Brindavana, where he is united to his consort in a very strange manner. Padmalochan, unable to brook any longer the freedoms (by way of corporal punishment) which two wives took with him, betakes himself to Brindavana also and lives there with Abhayakumar, until at last he is reconciled to his wives by their repentance. The play sets forth in an unfavourable light the ill-breeding of many of the Bengáli ladies, but we cannot help thinking that it is an exaggerated picture; and in any case the task is an ungracious one. The coarse ribaldries in which the *jámáis* (sons-in-law) indulge, are all repulsive to educated ears. The Bayes-like grandiloquence of Niváran when he makes a prose recitation of the Rámáyana is amusing; but this too is not free from the vulgarisms which soil the work. In spite of these and other faults in the conduct of the drama, Bábú Dinabandhu has given ample proofs of his powers. The characters are all very well discriminated; and, considered merely as a satire, the book is well written. The biting sarcasm on Bhotárám Bhát, who is represented as a reviewer, scarcely does the author any credit. We repeat, the work before us is unworthy of the author of the "*Navína Tapasviní*" and "*Lilávatí.*"

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2. General Literature.

Clinical Lectures on Dengue. By T. Edmonston Charles, M.D., M.R.C.P. Calcutta. 1872.

THE reputation of Dr. Charles as a scientific observer of the highest skill and success, makes the publication of these interesting lectures a real boon both to the profession and to the public at large. They were delivered, in the first place, to a class of bed-side students in the Medical College. Communicated to the *Indian Medical Gazette* (at the cost, as the author informs us in the preface, of very considerable labour in the midst of other absorbing and urgent duties), they appeared sufficiently early in the epidemic to attract the attention of other observers; and have

certainly done a great deal to develop our scientific knowledge of the diagnosis and treatment of this strange and relentless pest, whose comet-like appearances usually render it especially inaccessible to scientific observation and study.

The diagnosis between dengue and scarlatina, and that between dengue and measles—the difficulties in diagnosis sometimes produced by slightly abnormal forms of the disease such as those which Dr. Charles calls *denguis latens, denguis mitis,* and *denguis maligna*—the temperature-charts, illustrating the constant difference between dengue and the allied diseases which is disclosed by the clinical thermometer—the careful investigation of the state of the blood in dengue, illustrated by a chromo-lithograph showing in the diseased blood amidst the white corpuscles and the red corpuscles considerable masses of the minute bioplastic bodies normally found in small numbers in every specimen of blood—all these, and many other points of scientific interest, will immediately attract the attention of the professional reader; but it is not our province to enter on the discussion of such matters in this place. To the general public—and especially the Calcutta public, which has suffered so severely and so universally—the admirably clear and simple description of the course of the malady, of the ordinary and the occasional symptoms, of the relapses and the sequelæ, and of the treatment, will be of the highest interest. On the last point, Dr. Charles lays down the following fundamental principle :—

"At the outset I have to impress on you the fact that dengue "is a specific disease, and runs a certain course of its own, un-"influenced by remedies. The days are past when you would "attempt to cut short a disease such as small-pox; and I think "your faith will be strengthened in what I have afterwards to "tell you about the treatment of dengue, when you start from "such a fixed and certain basis as that, nothing that you can "do will avail much in altering the course that the disease "takes. You can do much good by treatment, you can do much "harm by treatment, to the individual who is the subject of this "affection; but during all the times I have been brought in con-"tact with this disease, I have not been able to collect a shadow "of proof that I have ever succeeded in shortening its duration "or in converting a severe case of dengue into a mild one."

Starting from this cardinal maxim, Dr. Charles instructs us to treat the *pyrexia* or fever stage of dengue purely expectantly; giving no medicine (except perhaps, in cases of scanty urine, a few grains of citrate of potass), and allowing a coffee-cupful of strong soup once in six hours. Even in cases attended by convulsions in children, the same expectant treatment is recommended; unless the convulsions recur frequently, when conium should be prescribed in fair doses. It will comfort many anxious mothers

in such cases, to be assured on such very good authority that "the symptom though very alarming is not dangerous." For the pains, which are often intense, as most of us too well know, belladonna is almost if not quite an absolute specific; and this valuable drug will also help us in relieving the restlessness, distress, and mental anguish which are so often experienced. A turpentine liniment may occasionally be used for the after-pains in the joints; and quinine is efficacious in arresting the relapses of the *pyrexia*.

Probably few medical men have been privileged to obtain so extensive and varied a practical experience in the treatment of this disease, as Dr. Charles; and, fortunately for the cause of science, the experience could hardly have fallen into better hands.

May Day: being No. 2 *of the* CHAMELEON, *an Anglo-Indian periodical of Light Literature.* Edited by Phil. Robinson. Allahabad. 1872.

WE sincerely regret to learn, from the preface to this the second number of the *Chameleon*, that the venture has not as yet been a pecuniary success. The regret is heightened by another announcement, that the editorship will now pass from the able hands of Mr. Robinson to those of "a gentleman well known to the Press of India," whose name is not given; Mr. Robinson modestly adds—"Better editing and punctuality are therefore guaranteed." We trust that, at any rate, we may not miss that gentleman's sparkling and agreeable contributions from the pages of the youthful magazine. The price of the *Chameleon* under the new *régime* is to be Rs. 5 a year only, including postage; with a promise that it will become a monthly, if at the end of a year the number of subscribers exceed one thousand. All "receipts over expenditure will be devoted to the improvement "of the *Chameleon*, which is *pur et simple* a disinterested at-"tempt to start a periodical." We need hardly say that we heartily wish the public-spirited projectors the success which they certainly deserve.

The first paper in the present number takes its name from the whole—May-Day; and May Day in India is its theme. To those of our readers who have read *Nugæ Indicæ*, or who saw Mr. Robinson's contributions to *Twelfth-Night*, it will be sufficient to say that *May Day* is from the same pen, sprightly and humorous, and withal thoughtful and observant, as ever. The wide difference between the freshness and beauty of a May morning in dear old England, and the almost intolerable heat and oppression of an Indian (and especially a North-West) May, is so obvious and commonplace to most of us, that only the most skilful treatment

could make its description other than tedious; under Mr. Robinson's airy touch, it becomes an exceedingly pleasant and amusing subject of chit-chat. Can any topic be more trite and stale than the iniquities and sufferings of punkah-coolies? Our readers will see, from the following extract, what life can be breathed into the dry bones by a true artist:—

"But the punkah-cooly is left outside. His lines have been cast to him on the wrong side of the tattie. The hot wind—whose curses the sweet kiss of the kus-kus turns to blessings, whose oven-stench passes into our houses with a borrowed fragrance—finds the punkah-cooly standing undefended in the verandah, and blows upon him; the sun sees him, and, as long as he can, stares at him; until the punkah-cooly, in the stifling heat of May Day, almost longs for the flooded miseries of Michaelmas. But he has his revenge. In his hands he holds a rope—a punkah-rope—and beneath the punkah sits his master, writing. On either side, and all around him piled carefully, are arranged papers, light, flimsy sheets, and on each pile lies a paper-weight. And the punkah swings backward and forward with a measured flight, the papers' edges responsive with a rustle to each wave of air. And the writer, wary at first and easily outwitting the crafty breeze, grows careless. The monotony of the air has put him off his guard; and here and there a paper-weight has been removed. Now is the cooly's time. Sweet is revenge. And suddenly with a jerk the punkah wakes up, sweeping in a wider arc; and with a rustle of many wings the piled papers slide whispering to the floor. But why loiter to enumerate the cooly's mean revenges;— the dirty tricks by which, when you rise, he flips you in the eye with the punkah fringe, disordering your hair, sweeping it this way and that; the petty retaliation of finding out a hole in the tattie, and flinging water through it on to your matting, angering the dog that was lying in the cool damp shade. These and such are the cooly's revenges, when the hot weather by which he lives embitters him against his kind. But at night he developes into a fiend, for whom a deep and bitter loathing possesses itself of the hearts of men. It is upon him that the strong man, furious at the sudden cessation of the breeze, makes armed sallies; against whom gentler woman, unsexed by heat, lifts up her voice in bitterest upbraiding. It is on him that the mosquito-bitten subaltern, wakeful through the oil-lit watches of the night, empties the phials of his wrath and the contents of his chillumchee; who shares with the griff's dogs the uncompromising attentions of boot-jacks and riding-whips. For him ingenious youth devises rare traps, cunning pyramids of beer-boxes with a rope attached—curious penalties to make him suffer—for the cooly after the sun has set, becomes a demoralized machine that requires winding up once every twenty minutes, and is not to be kept going without torture. And thus for eight shillings a month he embitters your life, making the punkah an engine wherewith to oppress you."

May Day is succeeded by a little ballad of four stanzas, of

which the words are simple and appropriate, the versification very poor. But the sentiment is pure and true ; and a mother's lines "To her children at home"—two bright bonny little ones far away over the Black Water—will go to the heart of many a mother, and many a father too, who are suffering this, the *peine forte et dure* of our Indian exile. Then follows a review, or rather a *résumé*, of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice through the Looking Glass.* Both these charming little books are now so universally and thoroughly familiar, that the recital has not that freshness which it would have had soon after the publication of the latter. The author is doubtless right in regarding the earlier composition as by far the better ; but he might have made more of the *Jabberwock*, and certainly more of the Walrus. The ingeniously-constructed phraseology of *Jabberwocky*, though the poem has already been translated into many living and dead lauguages, will still repay careful study.

Next we come to a tiny novelette, called *Trifles light as Air.* It is of the regular *London Society* type—improbable and most trivial, but withal readable ; and another paper in a later part of the magazine, entitled *The Mouth of the Pass*, is somewhat of the same nature, though not nearly so amusing or so well written.

The best article in the number, with the exception of Mr. Robinson's *May Day*, is called *How I founded an Empire.* The story is that of an English adventurer—a sort of George Thomas —who has founded a powerful and well-organised empire in Yunan and the vast unexplored regions between Burmah and China, during the years 1871 to 1878. Very little is known about these provinces ; which are nominally subject to China, but are in the hands of rebellious Panthays, or Muhammadans, and almost in a state of anarchy. The apparent reality of the story is exceedingly well kept up—the writer being evidently very familiar with Dr. Anderson's recently published book on these regions.*

Notwithstanding the apologies of the Editor ,we are inclined to consider this number of the *Chameleon* little if at all inferior to its predecessor ; we hope it will maintain its reputation as successfully under the new management.

On the Necessity of National Support to an Institution for the cultivation of the Physical Sciences by the Natives of India†. By Dr. Mahendra Lál Sircar.

DR. Mahendra Lál Sircar has at last favoured the general public by publishing the substance of this lecture as one of the

* We are unwillingly compelled to hold over a notice of this most important work by Dr. Anderson—

† Being the substance of a Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Bethune Society, held in the Medical College Theatre, on the 1st, and at a meeting of the Literary branch of the Uttarpárá Hitkari Sabhá held on the 14th February, 1872.

articles of the Calcutta Journal of Medicine (Vol. V., Nos. 1 and 2). The lecturer begins by expatiating on the usefulness, moral and psychical, of the physical sciences; and the great trouble and expense which lie in the way of the scientific discoverer. The Indian youth, he says, have an aptitude for, and a love of science almost peculiar to themselves, an aptitude and a love nowhere else to be met with. How is it then that the Indian youth are notoriously apathetic and indolent in scientific as well as in most other research after their school and college life is over? This is a serious question, as Dr. Sircar rightly thinks; and as far as we are aware it has never been satisfactorily answered. The lecturer offers a solution which has much to be said in its favour. He says:—

"The true cause, why our educated youth have not hitherto turned to any substantial profit the knowledge they have acquired at school, lies in the fact of want of good opportunity, want of means, want of encouragement, and not in defective moral nature, nor in a badly developed physique, nor in an easily spent precocity nor in inadequate food. It must not be forgotten that the atmosphere that surrounds our educated young men is the worst imaginable for the development and cultivation of the intellect. They have to contend against deep-rooted prejudices and time-honoured customs in every step of their life, which tax their energy and their purse. The word purse reminds me of the extreme poverty of the best students who come out of our educational institutions. After their school days, they have to struggle hard for simple existence. And whoever knows the fabric of our society should not blame the student, who has to relinquish his favourite studies in search after bread for himself and his numerous family, not composed of his own children, but of relations closely and distantly connected, whom he must support so long as he wears the skin of man."

This is only the bare truth; and we consider it a matter for regret, that many writers have libelled the whole body of Indian youth by attributing the apathetic and indolent habits "to a radically degenerate moral nature." As under the existing circumstances, there is very little to be expected in the way of scientific discovery and progress from the graduates of the University, the lecturer proposes to start an Institution whose chief function would be to train men in science. "The plan of the proposed institution is simple enough. For division of work, for convenience of instruction, we must have sections; to each of which will be allotted one branch of science or a series of cognate branches." This is the chief end proposed by the "Sircar Science Association." The sum realised by the subscriptions of some of the munificent zamíndárs of Bengal amounts at the present moment to Rs. 39,000. But even this large sum is, considering the expensive nature of such a project,

entirely inadequate. The expense of a single chemistry class, not to speak of physics and electrology, is very considerable; and a large augmentation of the funds of the Association is urgently called for. We trust that the Rothschilds of Bengal will not be blind to the fair prospect opened to them by Dr. Sircar, of elevating the physical and intellectual, and thereby the social and moral, condition of their countrymen. Is not literary patronage one of India's chief boasts? Is not this the land where Vikramáditya once ruled, surrounded by his nine gems, and visited by all the *literati* of the country? Was not Bhoj Rájá also an Indian monarch? Let the educated aristocracy read carefully the history of their country; they will find that such was the zeal of their ancestors and predecessors for the encouragement of learning, that they oftentimes gave away half their zamindáries to support the worthless *tols* and *chatuspátis* situated in their domains. We say *worthless*, for these things were of no good to anybody inasmuch as their professors only occupied themselves in making the cobweb textures of *Nyáya* more and more intricate; these labours being now totally forgotten, or living only in the minds of their successors. True, the works of Udayanáchárjya and Váchásپáti Misra are incomparable specimens of dialectical art and metaphysical subtlety; that the *Bhásyas* of Sankara, and the commentaries of Sáyana on the Upanishads, afforded food to the speculative minds of the Indians; and that the works of Yáska and Kátyáyana, Vararuchi and Patanjali were great helps to the student ef Sanskrit philology; but in no way did they ameliorate the material condition of the country. The social and economic condition of the Indian would have remained exactly in the same primitive state as that of his Aryan ancestor, how elevated and how refined soever his mind might be, had it not been for a few handicraftsmen and so-called natural philosophers which India then produced. Now, if for want of more fitting objects, Indian magnates could formerly display their munificence to dreamy and speculative logicians and rhetoricians, how much more ought they to do what they can to encourage the development of Western science at the present day! Do they not recollect that "it has"—we quote from Macaulay—"lengthened life; has mitigated pain; extinguished diseases; increased the fertility of the soil; has given new securities to the mariner; furnished new arms to the warrior; guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth; lighted up night with the splendour of day; extended the range of human vision; accelerated motion; annihilated distance; enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses and the sea in ships which run ten

knots an hour against the wind." These are but a few of the advantages that have accrued to man from his scientific studies; the full sum briefly stated would be, that man was formerly the minister, and is now the master, of nature. If anything deserves kind encouragement and fostering care in this country where the development of every national resource is in its infancy, it is the study of physical science. Let those that wish to reap its benefits, sow the timely seed. Let the wealthy Bengális contribute each his quota, either by personal study or by enabling others to study; and the good effects will soon be visible.

To conclude, Dr. Sircar is conferring a great boon on his countrymen by his unwearied efforts to naturalise science in this country; and we have no doubt that the Science Association will ultimately become popular amongst educated Indians. Should it ultimately succeed, and realise the expectations of its excellent founder, its establishment may possibly mark a turning point in the history of the social and material progress of Bengal.

The Flora of British India: Part 1.—Ranunculaceæ to Polygaleæ. By J. D. Hooker, C.B., M.D., F.R.S., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Cantab., &c. &c., assisted by various Botanists. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. London. 1872.

THE stupendous magnitude of the task which Dr. Hooker has commenced in the volume before us, may be imagined from the fact that the Flora of British India comprises no less than twelve to fourteen thousand distinct species; and to these will have to be added the flowering plants and ferns of Kashmir and Western Tibet, which will naturally find a place in this work, inasmuch as those countries belong to botanical regions included within British India, have been mainly explored by Indian officers, and are habitually visited by Indian tourists and travellers. Dr. Hooker informs us in his preface, that British Indian botany is represented "by hundreds of thousands of specimens, collected "over an area of one and a half millions of square miles, in tro-"pical, temperate, and frigid climates, and at all elevations from "the sea-level to 19,000 feet. Of this vast assemblage not a twelfth "part has hitherto been brought together in any one general work "on Indian plants. The descriptions of such as are well described, "are scattered through innumerable British and foreign journals, "or contained in local Floras, or works on generalbot any; a very "large number are described so incompletely or inaccurately that "they can only be recognised after an inspection of the original "specimens, and very many are altogether undescribed. In short